

Georgian Leader Predicts 80% Vote For Independence

By David Remnick
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Georgians voted on Sunday in a referendum in which they were expected to endorse secession overwhelmingly from the southern Soviet republic.

President Mikhail S. Gorbachev has said that he considered the balloting in Georgia, like similar votes this year in the three Baltic republics, to be nothing more than an opinion poll.

Mr. Gorbachev has insisted that republics that want to secede must embark on a legal process that could take five years or more.

The Georgian leader, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, predicted that 80

percent of the republic's voters would endorse secession.

He has indicated that he may soon move to create an independent army and currency while demanding negotiations with Moscow.

"It will be a great victory for independence," he said in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital.

Georgia was a part of the Russian empire and won its independence in 1918, only to lose it to the Red Army three years later.

It was one of six republics that refused to take part in the nationwide referendum March 17 that largely endorsed Mr. Gorbachev's proposal for a "renewed" union in which Moscow would maintain its controlling power.

On Saturday, Mr. Gorbachev sent a telegram to Mr. Gamsakhurdia demanding that Georgian militia forces cease their raids on the autonomous region of South Ossetia, where about 50 people have died in the last two months in ethnic violence.

Most Ossetians are loyal to the union; they want to form an independent republic with adjacent North Ossetia. The Georgian parliament, in a bid to control the region, abolished South Ossetia's autonomous status in December.

"Gerrillas are on the rampage," Mr. Gorbachev said in his telegram, "the blood of Georgians and Ossetians is being shed, dozens of villages have been burned down." He asked that the violence end and

that negotiations between the two sides begin immediately.

The South Ossetians and the Abkhazians on the Black Sea coast see Mr. Gamsakhurdia as an autocrat who threatens their interests, and they were expected to vote as a bloc Sunday against the referendum question. It read: "Do you agree that the state independence of Georgia should be restored on the basis of the independence act of May 26, 1918?"

Mr. Gamsakhurdia said Georgia was not to blame for the violence in South Ossetia.

"Gorbachev is the main reason for the bloodshed," he said. "It's his policy, and it's directed against us. It's the Kremlin's war against Georgia, because we are fighting for independence."

Mr. Gamsakhurdia has a passionate following in Georgia. But critics there, such as the Democratic Party leader, Giorgi Chanturia, charge that he uses violence and dictatorial tactics.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia and Mr. Chanturia have been waging a bitter feud, each accusing the other of working for the KGB.

For human-rights campaigners elsewhere in the country, Mr. Gamsakhurdia is a paradoxical figure. In the 1960s and 1970s, he was active in publishing underground political literature in support of pro-independence groups. But he is also said to have cooperated with the KGB at times. Mr. Gamsakhurdia's father was a leading Georgian novelist.

Reuters reported from the Ukrainian city of Lvov.

Ukrainian Catholics thronged by the thousands to Mass on Sunday to celebrate the return of their patriarch from exile and their newfound freedom of worship.

Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky returned from Rome on Saturday after a 53-year absence to take up residence in Lvov, the focal point of both the church and the Ukrainian's national movement, which was closely linked.

On Sunday, he became the first patriarch to say Mass in the cathedral of St. George, seat of the church since Stalin forced the Ukrainian Catholic faith to merge with Russian Orthodoxy in 1946.



Two women voting in Tirana on Sunday in elections for Albania's 250-seat People's Assembly. About 1.9 million people were eligible to vote, and the turnout was heavy.

Albania Election: Stiff Test for Communist Leader

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Service

TIRANA, Albania — Citizens of Eastern Europe's last bastion of communism turned out early to vote on Sunday in an election that was the freest in Albanian history.

The Communist Party, which has ruled Albania with Stalin-like ruthlessness since 1946 while sealing it off from the West, appeared to be fighting an uphill battle against a four-month-old opposition group called the Democratic Party. There are five other smaller opposition parties.

President Ramiz Alia, the Communist Party boss who was forced by street riots, food shortages and his government's economic failings into allowing the elections, has said that there should be a multiparty coalition government regardless of who wins.

Led by former Communists promising "a move toward Europe" and rapid free-market changes of the sort that have swept through the old East Bloc in the last 18 months, the Democratic Party appeared to have widespread support in the countryside, where 62 percent of the population lives, and in cities.

As early as 6 A.M., when the polls opened, there were long lines of voters outside village polling stations. By 6 P.M.,

about 90 percent of Albania's 1.9 million registered voters had cast their ballots.

"Everybody was laughing," said Ande Baba, 20, a student at Tirana University. "These are the happiest faces I have ever seen."

Albania is the poorest country in Europe, and half its electorate is under the age of 20.

Democratic Party leaders have predicted an easy victory in the elections for the 250-seat People's Assembly, and said they would purge many Communists from the government.

In a last-minute bit of electioneering, the government freed 258 political prisoners Saturday. Over the nearly five decades of Communist rule here, there have been tens of thousands of political prisoners serving sentences for offenses ranging from growing a beard to tending a grave.

The opposition says there are now just 27 political prisoners left in prison.

Results from the vote were not expected until Monday or Tuesday. To win a seat in the parliament, a candidate needs more than 50 percent of the vote. With 1,070 candidates for the 250 seats, the shape of Albania's next government may not be decided until after a second round of voting next Sunday.

International observers described the voting as generally free and fair, with no evidence of a systematic attempt to

steal the election. For the first time in the history of Communist Albania, more than 250 foreign observers and journalists were allowed to monitor the voting.

The two most significant voting incidents occurred in two precincts in Tirana, the capital, where Albania's two most powerful Communist forces faced stiff challenges.

Truckloads of soldiers arrived from the countryside at dawn to cast votes in the district where Mr. Alia was a candidate. Such importation of soldiers is legal under Albanian law, which allows up to 6 percent of the vote in each precinct to come from voters registered elsewhere.

"There has been a decision to tow out a fair number of army supporters for Ramiz Alia," said George Galloway, a British legislator and election observer who saw the soldiers arrive. The Communist Party, he said, "moved deftly to give the president a flying start."

In another Tirana precinct, where the Communists' second in command, Spiro Dede, was running against a well-known opposition journalist, a voting station was closed down after 100 improperly stamped ballots slips were found.

In other Communist regimes in the Balkans in the last year free elections have been won by the ruling party. Analysts have explained the pattern by pointing to the conservatism of older voters and the culture of fear in which they have spent their lives.

GIs Find It Hard to Just Sit By

Frustration Grows as They Treat Victims of Iraqi Strife

By Nora Boustany
Washington Post Service

SAMAWAH OIL REFINERY, Iraq — U.S. soldiers at this northernmost observation post deep inside occupied Iraqi territory watched in horror and frustration as Iraqi troops loyal to President Saddam Hussein attacked the town of Samawah, about a kilometer across the demarcation line.

Republican Guard troops last week fired tank rounds into a hospital, used Soviet-made helicopters to strafe the town and shelled hundreds of civilians huddled in dry ditches south of a railway track inside the demarcation line. Green flags, the insignia of the Shiite Muslim rebel forces, were gone.

By Friday, all the U.S. troops could do was receive the wounded civilians. There were at least 40, mostly women and children, not only victims of shelling — random

barrages meant to kill and terrorize — but of point-blank shootings.

"It's very hard sitting here, not being able to do what we can," said Lieutenant Thomas Isom, 26. "We have shown more discipline in the last four days than in the whole war. If they asked for volunteers, there is not a man here who would not go north to finish the job."

"There isn't a soldier here who does not want to finish it," he said, expressing the feelings of many U.S. servicemen who, amid a declared peace in the war, must watch passively as Iraqi troops kill trapped civilians. "They hate this."

The accounts of the soldiers, stationed on the rim of the Euphrates Valley — about 240 kilometers (150 miles) from the Kuwaiti border and near the tip of the 325-kilometer-long sector held by U.S. troops — confirmed gruesome tales of refugees and Iraqi deserters who

have fled toward the Kuwaiti border over the past week from a government crackdown on central and southern Iraqi towns.

An 18-month-old girl was "shot with a pistol in her left chest, up close enough for a powder burn," said Captain Daniel Miller, 29.

"We have had little kids brought to us, shot in the back, and women," Lieutenant Isom said.

Among those treated were adults with severed limbs, two or three small children with their hands and fingers blown off, according to Sergeant Dickson Figueroa, 27, a medic.

Samawah was attacked by troops loyal to President Saddam Hussein as part of a campaign to crush Shiite revolt that erupted March 4 following the end of the war. Survivors told the Americans that most males above age 12 who were still

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An Iraqi Foreign Ministry official, Saad Qassem Hammudi, at the Arab League meeting in Cairo, the first since the Gulf war ended.

Arabs Talks Hint at Lesser Role for PLO

By Youssef M. Ibrahim
New York Times Service

CAIRO — The pro-Western Arab countries appear to have laid down the law for new inter-Arab relations at an Arab League meeting here, dismissing all of Iraq's justifications for occupying Kuwait and hinting that they no longer regarded the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of Palestinians.

In restrained but purposeful speeches, the representatives of Egypt and Kuwait told delegates to the first full Arab League meeting in the aftermath of the Gulf war that the Arab countries that participated in the defeat of Iraq — primarily Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria — would be the ones setting the Arab political agenda for some time to come.

The Egyptian foreign minister, Esmat Abdel Meguid, set the tone by noting that the 21 members of the Arab League have moved the organization's headquarters back to Cairo after an absence of more than 10 years and must now begin to follow new rules in inter-Arab relations.

From now on, Mr. Abdel Meguid said, "our discourse must be marked by total clarity and frankness, for this is a time for straight talk and not flattery."

The meeting Saturday conducted very little business, but Mr. Abdel Meguid described it as a rebirth of the Arab League as a showcase of futuristic Western technology. Page 7.

A new beginning for the Arab world after the invasion of Kuwait.

"The Arab nation has put an end to a period of its history and is on the verge of a new era of united Arab work," he said.

Mr. Abdel Meguid called for the healing of Arab wounds and stressed that all Arabs "must renounce the use of force or the threat of force in Arab-Arab relations, with a special accent on the importance of noninterference in the internal affairs of Arab countries and the respect of the political and social systems in each and every Arab country."

The representative of Iraq, Saad Qassem

Hammudi, remained silent and stiff as Mr. Abdel Meguid indirectly but clearly impugned every stand taken by Iraq to justify its occupation of Kuwait.

Dismissing the idea that rich Arab countries must share their wealth, a view used by Iraq as a rationalization of its occupation, the Egyptian foreign minister said the new ground rules in Arab relations must be based on the notion that "each Arab country has total sovereignty on its natural and economic resources."

The Kuwaiti representative, Abdulmohsen Jihan, also refrained from mentioning Iraq by name but congratulated his countrymen and the world for the liberation of his homeland from what he described as "the claws of a gruesome occupier."

The meeting also showcased a harder attitude toward the P.L.O. Its representative, Hakkam Balawi, held his applause after the speeches by Mr. Abdel Meguid, Mr. Jihan, and the Qatari delegate, all of whom spoke of the struggle of the "Palestinian people" without the

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Iraq Says The Worst Of Revolt Is Over

3 Major Towns In North Retaken, Baghdad Reports

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

AMMAN — Challenged by the most intense and widespread uprising in Iraq's modern history, Baghdad asserted Sunday that the worst of the revolt was over, saying loyalist forces had retaken three important towns in the Kurdish north, including the oil town of Kirkuk.

"The sectarian sedition has breathed its last breath," Prime Minister Saddam Hammudi said on Baghdad radio.

The official Iraqi press agency, INA, said government forces had also driven Kurdish rebels from the northern towns of D'hoq and Arbil, where Kurdish dissidents based in Damascus reported sustained attack by government warplanes, helicopter gunships and artillery. Arbil is the administrative center of Iraq's Kurdish-speaking north.

Earlier Sunday, both sides reported continued fighting for Kirkuk, 250 kilometers (150 miles) north of Baghdad, where oil-fields accounted for one third of Iraq's petroleum oil production and which controls a major oil pipeline running westward to Turkey.

But Western reporters permitted to enter Iraq in recent days said they visited Kirkuk on Sunday and found it under government control. Their dispatches were subject to Iraqi government censorship.

According to travelers from the region arriving in Jordan, government forces rangy Kirkuk with artillery and infantry units last week, ordered civilians to leave and pounded the city with shellfire before tanks and ground forces moved in on Thursday.

The Iraqi Defense Ministry newspaper, Al Qadisiya, promising a fuller account of the drive against the rebels, said the results would be announced "once Kirkuk is purged of traitors and foreign infiltrators and when they have been eliminated from certain cities and villages such as Aqra, Shaykhan, Faiza and Samayil."

The newspaper said that the "liberation" of Kirkuk and other centers had been confirmed by high-ranking government officials visiting them.

In Damascus, where President Hafez Assad has long pursued the downfall of Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, a spokesman for the Kurdish Democratic Party said the fight for Kirkuk was "swinging this way and that."

"The Iraqis are hitting us with a rain of fire from helicopter gunships, tanks and artillery," the rebel spokesman said. "They want to frighten the fighters whose wives and children live there."

The statement was made several hours before the latest reports from Western reporters allowed into Iraq and escorted to the north by government officials.

The Kurdish revolt in northern Iraq is led by two groups, the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. The battle for Kirkuk played a central role because of its economic importance. See IRAQ, Page 4.

In Japan, A Scandal On Exams

By T.R. Reid
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — A shocking crime has produced front-page banner headlines in the national newspapers for days. Magazines are competing to find every lurid detail. The now familiar videotape of the culprit being led to jail in handcuffs is shown regularly on television news.

The transgression that has stunned Japan is not murder, rape or robbery, but something that cuts to the core of what really matters in Japanese society: cheating on a high school entrance exam.

It was revealed recently that three faculty members at the Hyogo Prefectural Agricultural High School in rural central Japan, under pressure from powerful alumni, doctored the answer sheets of about 15 applicants seeking entrance for the year that begins this month.

The adults botched the job so thoroughly that they were caught immediately. There is no evidence that any student gained or lost in the case, yet the whole country has been profoundly upset. In an editorial, the daily Yomiuri Shimbun called the incident "horrifying."

See JAPAN, Page 2

Kiosk

Afghan Rebels Take Border Town

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (Combined Dispatches) — Afghan rebels said Sunday they had captured the government garrison town of Khoist, in eastern Afghanistan near the Pakistani border.

They said the town, which has been under siege for most of the 12 years of the Afghan civil war, fell at the climax of a two-week offensive. No independent confirmation was immediately available.

Afghan sources said the capture would have symbolic importance for the guerrillas, whose campaign to oust President Najibullah has become bogged down militarily and politically. (Reuters, AP)

General News

Maroon's wealth: Billions remain unaccounted for. Page 2.

Eight bodies were found in Natal after two South African black leaders held peace talks. Page 2.

MONDAY Q&A

Business/Finance

The U.S. finds fewer trade barriers in Japan this year. Page 7.

The dollar's rise has been hard on U.S. investors. Page 7.

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As '90s Guilt Replaces '80s Gilt, N.Y. Restaurants' Salad Days Are Over

By Molly O'Neill
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In the last two years, the euphemistic Closed for Renovation signs have nearly eclipsed the Happy Hour signs in the windows of New York City restaurants. Crowds have thinned in the best dining rooms. Reservations are rarely a problem.

New York restaurateurs are worried about the pining of corporate expense accounts for restaurant meals. They cite the corrosive recession, which has cut into tourism and entertainment, and the growing number of young families eating at home.

But what worries restaurateurs more are customers like Eric Wyka. As he waited to check his

coat before dinner at the Rainbow Room recently, he glanced over his shoulder nervously. "I'd be real embarrassed if one of my friends who's been laid off saw me here," Mr. Wyka, 40, a lawyer, murmured to his companion. "I mean, it's not like I go out so much anymore, but I feel sort of guilty going out at all."

To restaurateurs, this mood change is scarier than the empty tables and the decline in average spending for a meal.

"We had the good times, and now we're deep in guilty times," said David Liederman, who owns the Broadway Grill and who just closed his second restaurant, Chez Louis, to convert it into a less expensive dining room.

Peter Aschkenasy, owner of the venerable Gage

& Tollner Restaurant in Brooklyn, says a fundamental change is afoot.

"Recessions come and go," he said, "that's the business. Good operators survive and adapt. The frightening thing isn't the drop in numbers or the change in spending, it's the attitude change."

"Connoisseurship is being lumped together with 'nouveau riche' as some embarrassing '80s remnant," said Susan Liederman, co-owner of the Broadway Grill. "We are in real trouble."

The New York restaurant world has been especially vulnerable to even a slight shift in spending habits.

In the fabulous free-spending 1980s, new restaurants popped up faster than corn in a hot pan. In creating restaurants, the '80s motto was "borrow

and spend," and it left many places heavily in debt. Rents soared, and operating costs climbed.

By 1990, profit margins were so tight that to lose a dozen customers a day could mean not paying the vegetable bill.

"Restaurants throughout the country are taking it on the chin, but the situation is exacerbated in New York City by higher rental percentages and union difficulties," Charles Bernstein, editor of Nation's Restaurant News, a trade journal, wrote last month.

In other parts of the country, rent accounts for about 5 or 6 percent of monthly sales. In New York City, a restaurant's rent can eat up as much as 20 percent of sales when sales are good.

In recent interviews, 25 New York restaurateurs

cited declines in sales of 5 to 40 percent over the last year, pushing the rent share to as much as 30 percent of sales.

The number of restaurants has dipped to 10,461 in 1991 from a high of 11,767 in 1988, said Steven Linden, acting director of the permits division of the city's Department of Health.

City labor statistics indicate that the New York restaurant world is still shrinking. In 1988, 135,600 people worked in eating and drinking establishments, said Michael Press, deputy commissioner of business development for the city. Today, city restaurants employ 128,000 people.

Many restaurateurs hear a death knell in every canceled reservation, as well as in every piece of

See DINE, Page 2

Gulf War Enhanced Peacekeeping Role, UN Official Says

Since 1986, Marrack I. Goulding has been undersecretary-general for special political affairs at the United Nations, with primary responsibility for peacekeeping operations. At a recent conference in Singapore, he discussed the changing role of the United Nations with Michael Richardson of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. Has the outcome of the Gulf war strengthened the United Nations and its peacekeeping activities?

A. Yes. The Gulf war has shown that the mechanisms of the Security Council can be used to coordinate an effective response by the world community to an act of aggression that was almost universally condemned. And in the aftermath of the war, the UN has a great capability to help in peacekeeping, humanitarian relief, reconstruction and the negotiation of regional security arrangements if member states want to use it.

The Gulf war has also started a debate about how the UN should best organize and conduct actions to end aggression.

Any workable system of collective security must have an enforcement capability. This debate is very useful and will strengthen the organization.

Q. The Soviet Union has proposed that a UN military staff committee command troops from member states. The United Nations has not agreed.

MONDAY Q&A

Q. States do not agree. How do you sort out this problem?

A. It is a sensitive and complicated issue. But it is clearly something that would have to be resolved before the Security Council launched an enforcement operation under UN command.

In the Gulf war, U.S. forces were led by an American commander who received his orders from Washington and reported back to Washington. I am not saying that is wrong. But if we are thinking of evolving a true system of collective security, it may be that more of an international flavor will in time have to be given to the command arrangements.

Q. Is the United Nations likely to be

called on more frequently over the next few years to settle conflicts and keep the peace?

A. Yes. In the last three years, five UN peacekeeping operations have been established, compared with only 13 during the previous 40 years.

The main reason for this is the new readiness of the United States and the Soviet Union to begin to work together on resolving some of the conflicts that have plagued the UN for so long.

Q. Is there concern at the United Nations that internal turmoil in the Soviet Union will lead to a change of policy and upset relations with the U.S.?

A. There has been no sign of that so far. I think that the cooperation between Moscow and Washington in recent weeks has maintained a high level of effectiveness.

Q. The traditional UN peacekeeping role has been in conflicts between states. In Namibia, Central America and Haiti — and soon, perhaps, in Cambodia, the Western Sahara, Angola and Ethiopia — the focus is on settling disputes within states. Does that complicate the task?

A. Not really, as long as there is a clear mandate from the parties to the conflict, whether internal or external, and their subsequent cooperation with the UN peacekeepers.

The practice in the past has been to envisage a role for the UN only in internal conflicts that have a clear international dimension. But recent tragedies, such as the civil war in Liberia, have generated a debate in New York about how UN techniques for conflict control and resolution could be applied to purely internal conflicts.

Q. Apart from the end of the Cold War, are there other reasons why the United Nations is being called upon more frequently for assistance in conflict resolution?

A. I would say that the world is becoming more orderly. There is a wider readiness among countries to use the techniques that the UN can make available for controlling and resolving conflicts that cause tremendous damage and human suffering.

Take Central America, where there have been conflicts going on for more

than a decade. In 1988, the five states there decided that the UN had a role to play in settling the problems of the region.

Q. Why is the United Nations turning increasingly to civilians in its operations to settle conflicts and maintain peace?

A. Mainly because large and complex operations, like the one in Namibia, involved a wider range of tasks than the more military peacekeeping operations that were the norm in the past. Organizing and observing an election and monitoring human rights, for example, are tasks that require civilian, not military, skills.

Q. Does the United Nations have the resources, and its member states have the money, to pay for increased peacekeeping activities?

A. The member states certainly have the money. We hope they have the political will and the money to pay for increased peacekeeping activities.

Marcos's Wealth: Millions Accounted For but Billions Remain

By Seth Mydans

New York Times Service

LOS ANGELES — After a five-year hunt through the courts and banks of three continents, the Philippine government has uncovered yachts and paintings and silver services and a few hundred million dollars, but not much more of the \$5 billion or more that Ferdinand E. Marcos reportedly stole from his country.

With the six-year term of President Corason C. Aquino ending next year, a note of desperation has entered the search, and her government has begun talking of cutting its losses and making deals with Mr. Marcos's widow, Imelda.

Lawyers and government officials involved in the search now say it will probably never be known just how much Mr. Marcos, who died in Hawaii in 1989, stole from the Philippines during his 20 years as president. Whatever the total, they say, it is now clear that only a small portion will be recovered.

A former member of the Manila agency seeking to recover the funds, the Presidential Commission on

Good Government, put the possible recovery at \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion.

In the Philippines, peremptory confiscations of property, deals with Marcos "cronies" and scores of civil suits have won the government about \$100 million in cash and \$100 million in assets, including horses, hotels, planes and sugar plantations.

In the United States, the government has recovered banks, buildings and assorted bawbles from various Marcos residences. In a Los Angeles court, it succeeded in freezing the Marcos assets worldwide, but it failed in a New York case brought by U.S. officials to convict Mrs. Marcos of racketeering in the purchase of properties with stolen government funds.

The biggest single haul could come in Switzerland, where a supreme court ruled recently that the Philippine government is entitled to recover \$350 million in Marcos bank accounts in that country.

Mr. Marcos and his entourage fled on the night of Feb. 26, 1986, with her first presidential decree after taking office, Mrs. Aquino promised her people that she would track down and recover the wealth and use

it to help rebuild her country, one of the poorest in Asia.

The recovery was seen as a symbol of the moral crusade on which she came to power, and her first commissioner of the recovery effort, Jovito Salonga, now the Senate president, offered no quarter. "A deal would amount to saying that it is all right for an official to steal, so long as he is ready to share his loot with the state later," he said then.

It was Mr. Salonga who first estimated the Marcos wealth at \$5 billion or more, and Manila has stood by that figure even as it scaled back its goals and has begun to talk of making deals.

The government moved to seize the assets, but there were complex court challenges as the Marcos camp hired top Philippine lawyers.

In addition, some investigators involved with the asset-recovery effort say the inefficiency and infighting that have characterized the Aquino government may have cost the nation millions of dollars in potential recoveries.

Last fall, Manila disclosed that it was negotiating

with Mrs. Marcos for a settlement that some officials said might allow her to keep 60 percent of her assets, though their total extent remains unknown.

The deal under discussion would apparently have terminated attempts through the courts to recover all the Marcos wealth in return for funds held in Hong Kong, if these totaled \$250 million or more.

Mrs. Marcos maintained that a formal agreement had been signed. But David Castro, the commissioner of the presidential commission, said the talks had only been exploratory.

Defending the deal-making, he said that in a legal process "compromise is required by the rules."

He added that overseas legal expenses in the search for the Marcos wealth had already reached \$8 million, and that continued litigation could take many more years, with diminishing returns.

Without compromises, he said, the Philippines can only expect to recover the \$350 million in Swiss banks and perhaps \$250 million more from the Los Angeles suit, which seeks the return of all the Marcos assets.

8 Killed in Natal After Peace Talks

The Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG — Eight bodies were found in Natal Province, the police said Sunday, a day after the black leaders Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe pledged further efforts to halt clashes between their supporters.

Newspapers said black leaders must take responsibility for the chronic violence.

"Apartheid can be advanced as a mitigating factor, but apartheid at its worst did not induce black people to behave with the barbaric disregard for life which has manifested itself in the township power struggles," the Sunday Times said.

The City Press newspaper said: "We cannot go on blaming apartheid for the violence in our midst."

DINE: Salad Days End

(Continued from page 1)

proposed restrictive legislation and every health finding that might promote a fear of uninhibited dining.

Economic factors can be dealt with pragmatically; the guilt factor, on the other hand, seems practically insurmountable to most restaurateurs.

"I've been in this business for 40 years and five recessions," said Tom Margittai, co-owner of the Four Seasons. "This is the worst I've seen, and it's not simply economic."

Just as symbols like the \$2,000 business suit, New York restaurants have been put in the stocks of the American conscience and held up for ridicule. When a pricey dining room closes, it is seen as a fitting rebuke for wanton indulgence, when a star chef shows up on the unemployment line, his bad fortune is often cast as a well-earned hair shirt.

Just as restaurants mirror spending patterns, they are a blotter for the social conscience.

"A moral change is palpable," said Joseph Baum, whose restaurant consulting group, the Joseph Baum and Michael Whitehead Company, operates the Rainbow Room and recently closed Aurora, a midtown restaurant. "It isn't proper to show how much money you have anymore."

Tunis Reports Rise in AIDS

The Associated Press

TUNIS — Tunisia recorded 217 cases of AIDS last year, according to a Health Ministry report issued Sunday. That represented an increase of 40 to 50 cases a year since 1985, the report said.

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Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, holding a letter from Mikhail S. Gorbachev conveyed by Foreign Minister Alexander A. Bessmertnykh.

Moscow Busily Mending Eastern Fences

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — The Soviet foreign minister, Alexander A. Bessmertnykh, arrived here Sunday night and said that he was optimistic about talks to plan a Chinese-Soviet summit conference in Moscow.

His stopover was another strong sign that ties between the two nations were improving as part of an effort by Moscow to mend relations with the main powers on the eastern rim of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Bessmertnykh arrived from Tokyo, where he left Japanese officials puzzled about Soviet intentions in the dispute that has blocked normalization of Soviet trade and political relations with Japan.

With two weeks to go before President Mikhail S. Gorbachev becomes the first Soviet leader to visit Japan, officials in Tokyo said

Moscow had yet to offer concrete proposals to resolve the question of four former Japanese islands in the Kuril chain that were seized by Soviet troops at the end of World War II. Japan considers a solution to the dispute the key to its future dealings with the Soviet Union.

After extended talks with Mr. Bessmertnykh, who was in Tokyo to prepare for Mr. Gorbachev's trip, the Japanese were uncertain as to how the Soviet president's visit, which Tokyo regards as a critical moment in the relationship between the nations.

Officials in Japan's Foreign Ministry said they had been frustrated by the lack of significant progress in working-level discussions on the return of the islands, whose Japanese names are Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and Habomai.

"One would have expected

something more concrete would emerge, given that the presidential visit is in two weeks," a senior official of the ministry said. "But in Russian diplomacy, the big decisions come at the end."

Japanese officials were seemed nervous about optimistic statements issued by Ichiro Ozawa, secretary-general of the governing Liberal Democratic Party and an influential adviser to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu.

Mr. Ozawa met with Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow last week and said in Washington on Friday that "for the first time, officially, the territorial issue has been recognized as the agenda item for the two nations."

Previously, Mr. Ozawa had informally floated a plan that called for the immediate return of two of the islands and continued negotiations on the others, but the propos-

al was rejected by the Foreign Ministry, which has long insisted on the recognition of all four islands as Japanese territory.

At the airport in Beijing, Mr. Bessmertnykh said: "My visit is going to be very good. We have a very important program to discuss. Things are going to be perfectly all right."

One of his main objectives is to set the stage for Jiang Zemin, China's Communist Party chairman, to go to Moscow next month. It would be the first trip there by a Chinese party leader since Mao Zedong went in 1957.

Mr. Jiang said: "In the past four decades and more, Sino-Soviet relations, described in one sentence, have gone through a tortuous path. What happened then are bygones."

(Readers, NYT, AP, AP)

JAPAN: Attempt to Cheat on School Entrance Exam Shocks the Country

(Continued from page 1)

"appalling," "intolerable" and "unheard of."

To most Japanese, it was all those things and more, because entrance exams are the keys to almost every important door in academic and professional life.

Some children take their first exams, for admission to elite private preschools, at the age of 3. People in every walk of life keep taking them throughout their careers. Even in retirement, people often take exams to get into adult-education classes.

Cuba Radio: Easter Message

Reuters

HAVANA — Cuba radio broadcast an Easter religious service on Sunday for the first time in 30 years, the latest sign of increased tolerance by Communist authorities toward Christian worship.

Like much that is central to Japan's psyche, this obsession was borrowed from the great teacher of East Asia, China. It was sometime during the 8th century A.D. that the Japanese were first exposed to the Confucian concept that admission to elite positions should be based on demonstrated merit.

Early Japanese rulers heartily embraced the Chinese system of civil-service exams for public officials, and the idea of entrance exams to prove one's worth gradually spread through every level of Japanese society.

Today, nearly all employers, public and private, require every job applicant to pass an exam. Even now, with the job market so open that some companies will hire almost anyone, most still require an exam before the hiring becomes official.

There can be further exams in the workplace for promotions or specific assignments.

This year's high school exam season has just ended. Newspapers are

now publishing texts of many exams so that next year's hopefuls can study from them. The test given by Tokyo high schools required a good deal of factual information and some reasoning skills in science, math, social studies, geography, English and Japanese.

The importance placed on high school entrance exams has been criticized on various grounds. Some say the emphasis on facts creates a population of mental robots. Some say the emotional pressure of constant study is too much for 15-year-olds. Others say the proliferation of expensive cramming classes gives the wealthy an unfair advantage. But nobody questioned the basic honesty of the system — until the scandal in Hyogo Prefecture.

The agricultural high school there is highly competitive. This year there were 399 applicants for 240 places in the first-year class, with admission based entirely on results of the entrance exam. Fac-

ing these odds, the police say, some prominent alumni pressured the school to make sure certain favored students got in.

Late one night in mid-March, the principal and two teachers removed the completed test sheets from a locked safe and started improving the answers of about 15 applicants. The job took so long, and the teachers got so tired, that they failed to mimic the applicants' handwriting. In some cases, they did not even use pencils the same color as the original.

When the tests were graded the next day, the tampering was obvious, and the tainted answers were thrown out. The police moved in, and the national press has been on the case ever since.

"This is unprecedented and completely outrageous," said Tetsuo Tsujimura, who heads the high school division of the Education Ministry. "It is crucial to the nation that these tests must always be fair."

WORLD BRIEFS

Croatian Policeman Dies and 7 Hurt In Battle With Rebel Serbian Police

BEIGRADE (Combined Dispatches) — A Croatian policeman was killed and seven were wounded Sunday in clashes with rebel Serbian police in the Yugoslav national park of Plitvice, the Croatian Interior Ministry said.

The Serbian National Council, which represents Serb interests in Croatia, said several people were killed or wounded when Croatian police entered the town of Tirova Korenica, but the report could not be independently confirmed. Radio news said that at least one Serb had been killed.

"Croatian police came to the Plitvice area at dawn, found barricades on the road and were ambushed by an unknown number of Serbian police," police said. They said nine Serbian policemen had been arrested.

Troops, tanks and armored vehicles stationed themselves between formations of Serbs and Croatian police in the area but took no action. Serbian leaders said that unless Croatian police withdrew from the area, they would organize a mass uprising. The clash Sunday was the most serious yet between Serbs and Croats, Yugoslavia's two biggest ethnic groups and historic rivals. (Reuters, AP)

Warsaw Pact Military Force Disbands

MOSCOW (Reuters) — The Warsaw Pact, which held Eastern Europe under tight Soviet control for 36 years, formally ceased its existence as a military force on Sunday when Soviet commanders surrendered their powers.

But the Soviet press agency Tass warned former members of the pact, set up to counter the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, that they would threaten Soviet security interests if they joined the rival alliance. "This could lead to a serious review of the whole system of European security that has evolved today," Tass said.

Foreign Minister Gensher of Germany said in a radio interview that it would be unwise for East European countries to try to join NATO. The Warsaw Pact, grouping the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, began to disintegrate after the revolutions that swept the Soviet bloc in 1989. Its political structure is expected to disband later this year.

Military Panel Ruling Mali Dissolves

BAMAKO, Mali (Reuters) — A 17-member military council which took power in Mali after ousting President Moussa Traore a week ago dissolved itself on Sunday, national radio said.

The radio said the council ceded all power to a new 25-member civilian-military council, the Transitional Committee for National Salvation, which is to form a transitional government. Among the 15 civilian delegates named to the committee are leaders of pro-democracy demonstrations that led to General Traore's downfall.

Lieutenant Colonel Amadou Touré, who headed the military council, said its dissolution proved that the army did not want to retain power. He reaffirmed the military's commitment to holding general elections within nine months and said all soldiers would leave the government by Jan. 20, 1992.

Hurd to Discuss Hong Kong in China

LONDON (Reuters) — Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd of Britain wants to accelerate what he has called "the snail's pace" of talks with China over the future of Hong Kong when he visits Beijing beginning Tuesday.

As well as trying to ease tensions between Hong Kong and Beijing, Mr. Hurd will try to settle differences over a new airport in the British colony, which returns to Chinese control in 1997. Mr. Hurd will be the most senior British minister to visit China since the violent repression of pro-democracy protests in Beijing in June 1989.

In addition to talks on Hong Kong, Mr. Hurd is expected to discuss Cambodia, the Gulf, arms sales and human rights with Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and probably with Prime Minister Li Peng. He is scheduled to return to London on April 9.

2 Citibank Offices Bombed in Athens

ATHENS (Reuters) — Time bombs simultaneously wrecked two downtown Citibank offices here Sunday but caused no injuries, the police said. No one took responsibility, but the police said they suspected the leftist November 17 urban guerrilla group.

In January, the group bombed several foreign banks in Greece, including Citibank, to protest the military campaign against Iraq by a U.S.-led alliance.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Strike Cancels 10 Air France Flights

PARIS (UPI) — Air France canceled 10 flights Sunday to southern Europe and northern Africa because of a strike by ground personnel protesting recent pay cuts, airline officials said.

They added that more than 300 Sunday flights from Charles de Gaulle and Orly Airports would be unaffected. The strike was called Friday to protest salary reductions and an Air France hiring freeze.

A huge container ship, 570,000 tonnes (2.1 million tons) of oil that sank in early March near the island of St. Kitts is still dumping its cargo, and shorelines have been fouled along a 300-mile (485-kilometer) swath of the Caribbean from the east coast of Puerto Rico to Antigua, the U.S. Coast Guard has reported. (NYT)

The first Tehran-Moscow passenger train service will start Saturday, the official Iranian press agency IRNA reported. It said that trains would start the four-day trips from Moscow on Saturdays and from Tehran on Thursdays. (Reuters)

This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Andorra, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Britain, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, Gibraltar, Grenada, Guyana, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Macao, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Monaco, Namibia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Rwanda, San Marino, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Suriname, Switzerland, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Uganda, Vatican City, Zimbabwe.

TUESDAY: Iran, Vatican City.

WEDNESDAY: Guinea.

THURSDAY: Senegal.

FRIDAY: Cyprus, Ethiopia, Greece, Hong Kong, Israel, Lebanon, Macao, South Korea, Taiwan.

SATURDAY: Cyprus, Ethiopia, South Africa, Sudan.

SUNDAY: Egypt, Iran.

Source: J.P. Morgan, Reuters.

WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	WIND		HIGH	LOW	WIND
Amsterdam	C 7	F 46	C 3	Bangkok	C 34	F 93	C 7
Antwerp	15	45	15	Beijing	23	53	23
Berlin	16	45	16	Calcutta	18	48	18
Brussels	15	45	15	Chongqing	64	34	64
Copenhagen	17	47	17	Hankow	64	34	64
Dublin	12	42	12	Harbin	29	59	29
Frankfurt	17	47	17	Hong Kong	29	59	29
Geneva	12	42	12	Kobe	32	62	32
London	19	49	19	Manila	32	62	32
Madrid	12	52	12	Osaka	14	44	14
Moscow	12	52	12	Shanghai	32	62	32
Paris	12	52	12	Singapore	32	62	32
Prague	12	52	12	Taipei	14	44	14
Rome	12	52	12	Tokyo	14	44	14
Stockholm	12	52	12	Yokohama	14	44	14
Vienna	12	52	12				
Warsaw	12	52	12				
Zurich	12	52	12				
AFRICA				LATIN AMERICA			
	HIGH	LOW	WIND		HIGH	LOW	WIND
Algiers	19	49	19	Buenos Aires	36	66	36
Cairo	19	49	19	Caracas	36	66	36
Cape Town	19	49	19	La Paz	36	66	36
Harare	19	49	19	Lima	36	66	36
Johannesburg	19	49	19	Rio de Janeiro	36	66	36
London	19	49	19				
Luanda	19	49	19				
Maputo	19	49	19				
Nairobi	19	49	19				
Porto	19	49	19				
Windhoek	19	49	19				
NORTH AMERICA				OCEANIA			
	HIGH	LOW	WIND		HIGH	LOW	WIND
Albany	18	48	18	Auckland	18	48	18
Albuquerque	18	48	18	Brisbane	18	48	18
Anchorage	18	48	18	Canberra	18	48	18
Atlanta	18	48	18	Christchurch	18	48	18
Boston	18	48	18	Dallas	18	48	18
Buffalo	18	48	18	Denver	18	48	18
Calgary	18	48	18	Honolulu	18	48	18
Chicago	18	48	18	Los Angeles	18	48	18
Dayton	18	48	18	Manila	18	48	18
Denver	18	48	18	Medan	18	48	18
Detroit	18	48	18	Montevideo	18	48	18
Houston	18	48	18	Osaka	18	48	18
Indianapolis	18	48	18	Shanghai	18	48	18
Los Angeles	18	48	18	Singapore	18	48	18
London	18	48	18	Taipei	18	48	18
Madison	18	48	18	Tokyo	18	48	18
Manila	18	48	18	Yokohama	18	48	18
Memphis	18	48	18				
Miami	18	48	18				
Minneapolis	18	48	18				
Moscow	18	48	18				
New York	18	48	18				
Oakland	18	48	18				
Orlando	18	48	18				
Portland	18	48	18				
San Francisco	18	48	18				
Seattle	18	48	18				
Shanghai	18	48	18				
Singapore	18	48	18				
Taipei	18	48	18				
Tokyo	18	48	18				
Yokohama	18	48	18				

AMERICAN TOPICS

Airliners in Storage Await Better Times

With the travel industry in a recession, hard-pressed airlines are selling off their planes. Some carriers have folded, leaving creditors with entire fleets to unload.

Where do all these planes go? A lot of them, the Los Angeles Times reports, are lined up at Final Air Park, a scrubby desert field in Marana, Arizona, operated by Evergreen International Aviation.

The manager, Dave Fowler, says caring for unwanted planes is "the same as selling a funeral plot." The lot now has 75 aircraft, up 50 percent from December. The names on the fuselages sound like a roll call at bankruptcy court: Pan Am, Eastern, Braniff.

A coat of whitewash covers the Air Canada logo on eight jetliners. The line is cutting back and restructuring. "A lot of airlines don't like the public to see their planes here," Mr. Fowler says.

Monthly parking fees range from \$250 to \$1,000, roughly the same as for cars in a big city parking garage. The real money is in modifications and repairs — a paint job can cost up to \$100,000.

Planes likely to remain for a while are mothballed with foil and heavy tape. Eventually, most will be resold or leased. Some of the older ones, too loud to meet today's noise restrictions and too expensive to modify in the currently depressed climate, will eventually be broken up for parts and melted down into aluminum ingots.

Short Takes

New York policemen have revived their subway decoy unit. It was dropped three years ago after a false-arrest scandal and spang-jacketed disguises that often irritated the public. Now the decoy is a drunk-acting policeman of Chinese ancestry with a gold chain and medallion around his neck as bait. Nearby plainclothesmen include two women chatting behind him, a curly-haired man carrying a briefcase and a tall fellow in a cowboy hat near a token booth. The unit has arrested 124 would-be robbers in eight months.

Public tours of the White House are doing a brisk business again after being suspended since Jan. 16 when the Gulf war began. Tickets for visits to the public rooms are free. About 3,500 visitors a day, more than a million a year, take the tours. A spokeswoman said the visits had last been stopped from 1948 to 1952, when the White House underwent major renovation during the Truman administration. They were similarly stopped for repairs in 1903 and 1904, and during both World Wars.

Advice from the head bartender at the Rainbow Room in Manhattan, Dale DeGroot, who holds seminars on his trade: Never put ice cubes used for shaking a drink into the drink itself — they have already begun to melt, so use new cubes. For the Bloody Mary, more than a dash or two of Worcestershire sauce muddies the drink; the Tabasco should add piquancy but not inactivate the taste buds; and the ice cubes should be large, or they will melt too fast. Contrary to Ian Fleming's Agent 007, the dry martini should be stirred, not shaken. A shaken martini comes out cloudy.

About People

Five years ago, Michael Blake, a struggling screenwriter, was living in his car in southern California, spending nights in friends' houses and writing a novel about a U.S. Army officer who deserts his post on the Western frontier to become a member of an Indian tribe. Last week, Mr. Blake, 45, won the Academy Award for best adapted screenplay. It was based on his own novel, "Dances With Wolves." He told The New York Times: "My country right or wrong is a concept that holds our country back. I think the movie makes a strong statement against that concept. And the fact that people are willing to sit still for that statement gives me a lot of hope for America."

When President Lech Walesa of Poland got stuck in an elevator briefly during his visit to Washington, William Black, a U.S. assistant chief of protocol, said: "The bad news is we're stuck between floors. The good news is we're with the most famous electrician in the world." The elevator started up again, however, without Mr. Walesa's having to send for a tool kit.

Arthur Higbee

Footnote on Legislative Process: It's Not Over When It's Over

By Robert Pear

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Because of bureaucratic foot-dragging, complex directives from Congress and in some cases ideological hostility, the U.S. government has failed to carry out major parts of health, environmental and housing laws enacted with much fanfare in recent years.

The delays have left Congress stymied, consumer groups frustrated and businesses sometimes paralyzed in the absence of prescribed regulations.

Bush administration officials acknowledge that they have missed many of the deadlines set by Congress for the new laws. But they say Congress is partly to blame because it writes laws of impenetrable complexity with countless mandates and gives government agencies insufficient time to write needed regulations.

No one can say exactly how many laws are affected by such delays, but federal officials say the problem has become widespread in recent years. They cite these examples, among others:

• Two decades after Congress ordered the Environmental Protection Agency to identify and regulate "hazardous air pollutants," the agency has issued emission standards for only seven chemicals. Congress now requires the agency to set emission standards for 189 chemicals.

• The government has yet to issue final regulations for cleaning up waste storage sites under a 1984 law. As a result, thousands of companies are operating "under a cloud of doubt and uncertainty," said Theresa Pugh, director of environmental quality at the National Association of Manufacturers.

• In 1987, Congress established a comprehensive program of assistance to homeless people. But recently Judge Oliver Gasch of U.S. District Court accused the administration of a "complete failure" to comply with the law, saying "pitifully few" unused U.S. government properties had been made available to assist the homeless.

"There are a million ways for recalcitrant federal agencies to vitiate a law," said Representative Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon. "It is extraordinarily frustrating. Contrary to what civics textbooks might suggest, passing legislation today is just the very first step."

"After that, you have to run through a veritable gauntlet of administrative processes and procedures to get the law carried out."

The Reagan administration sometimes used administrative delays as a device to enforce its philosophy of less government and to save money. Bush administration officials deny that they have intentionally

sidestepped deadlines for ideological reasons.

Thomas E. Kelly, who coordinates the writing of regulations at the Environmental Protection Agency, said: "We take deadlines with deadly seriousness and try to meet them. But when they are stupid or absurd, they ultimately corrode our ability to sustain the heroic efforts needed to do a high-quality job."

Congress, lobbyists, the White House and millions of Americans typically focus on legislative battles, assuming that a bill takes effect when signed by the president. But the partisan sparring over legislation often continues long after it is signed into law.

James M. Strock, enforcement director of the Environmental Protection Agency from 1989 through this February, said that the delays had led to a vicious circle: When Congress feels that an agency is moving too slowly, it sets deadlines.

The agency fails to meet them, generating further disappointment and distrust in Congress. So legislators set tighter deadlines and more detailed requirements, which the agency finds even more difficult to meet.

Congressional frustration has become much more obvious in the last two years. Congress now frequently dictates that new laws shall take effect on a particular date,

"without regard to whether or not final regulations have been promulgated by such date."

Agency officials and members of Congress list many reasons for delays in carrying out laws.

First, they say, Congress writes huge amounts of detail into the laws, specifying hundreds of requirements that would once have been left to the discretion of agency officials.

Laws relating to pollution, immigration, Medicare, Medicaid and other benefit programs have become almost as complex as the tax code. The rules needed to carry out such laws are much more complex than the measures approved by Congress.

U.S. officials sometimes drag their feet in carrying out a law they dislike. Disagreements over new laws are common after a decade in which Republicans controlled the White House and Democrats dominated Congress.

Regulations can be written to distort or even to thwart the intent of Congress. To prevent such abuse, Congress writes highly prescriptive laws that read like regulations.

Even when an agency is eager to carry out a new law, it must negotiate with the Office of Management and Budget, which often demands changes in proposed rules to reduce the cost or to minimize the bur-

den on private industry. Congress itself may not provide the money needed to carry out or enforce a new law.

Michael J. Horowitz, counsel to the director of the Office of Management and Budget from 1981 to 1985, said Reagan administration officials often viewed "non-enforcement of the law" as an easy way to deal with statutes and regulations they disliked.

But even a complex law can be carried out swiftly and smoothly if the president shows he is committed to it. Thus, the Justice Department, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other agencies have moved promptly to carry out a new law banning discrimination against people with disabilities, knowing that Mr. Bush strongly supports the measure passed last year.

By contrast, the Immigration and Naturalization Service took 10 years to issue final rules for granting asylum to aliens who come to the United States to escape persecution abroad — a program that never had a high priority at the White House.

In another example, the Federal Aviation Administration has failed to enforce a major safety rule issued in March 1990 that requires airlines to put able-bodied passengers in exit-row seats, so they can help others escape from the plane in an emergency.

L.A. Jury Hears of Effort to Halt Beating

By Jay Mathews

Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES — Two of four police officers charged in the vicious beating of a motorist tried to stop the initial assault by Officer Laurence M. Powell but then joined in or backed off when Officer Powell did not stop, according to grand jury testimony.

The 351-page transcript of four days of grand jury proceedings also reported the statement of a California Highway Patrol officer that she apparently had persuaded the motorist, Rodney G. King, to lie down and be handcuffed seconds before Los Angeles Police Department officers began beating him.

The transcript, released Friday, provides the most detailed public account of the attack on Mr. King, which has caused widespread outrage since an amateur videotape of the assault was broadcast after the incident March 3.

The lengthy testimony of Officer Melanie Singer, who had pursued Mr. King because she said he had been speeding, offers the most complete account of the minutes preceding the beating. Her account indicates that Mr. King did not react quickly to police commands.

An officer friend also identified Officer Powell, who is white, as the source of a computer message alluding to a black Los Angeles family as "Gorillas in the mist," a reference to a movie about ape research.

The message, which the friend said she did not understand, had been cited as an indication that Mr. Powell's attack on the black motorist was racially motivated.

Mr. King, who was struck at least 56 times with police batons and kicked seven times, is recovering from several broken bones and is being treated for brain damage.

The Superior Court grand jury has indicted Mr. Powell, 28; Sergeant Stacey C. Koon, 40; and Officers Theodore J. Briseno, 38, and Timothy E. Wind, 30, for assault by force with a deadly weapon, unnecessary beating of a suspect and other crimes related to the incident.

Officer Singer testified that Mr. King was traveling at what appeared to be more than 100 miles per hour (160 kilometers per hour) when she spotted him.

Failing to stop when she flashed her lights and turned on her siren, he led her on a five-mile chase through northern Los Angeles, running red lights and stop signs before halting, she said.

Her account of what Mr. King did then — before an amateur photographer, George Holliday, began to videotape the incident from his apartment balcony — is likely to be used to condemn or justify the initial attack on Mr. King.

Officer Singer said that Mr. King was slow to react to police commands. But, when ordered, he left

his car and placed his hands on the car roof, she said.

Then, as more patrol cars arrived and a police helicopter hovered overhead, Mr. King "looked up and smiled at the helicopter and began to wave and then more or less dance around with his feet, like a pitter-patter step," Officer Singer testified.

Told to lie face down, Mr. King danced some more, smiling at officers, some of whom had pistols pointed at him. He smirked at Officer Singer and grabbed his buttocks, she said, which led her to draw her pistol and repeat the order to "hit the ground."

She said she approached to handcuff him but was motioned away by Sergeant Koon, who said: "Stand back. Stand back. We'll handle this." She said she gave way because the sergeant outranked her and because city police have jurisdiction on city streets, where the arrest was made.

When Officer Powell and another Los Angeles officer each grabbed a wrist to try to pull Mr. King up and handcuff him, "he jerked his left arm, wrist, away from Officer Powell, then jerked his right arm, pulled it down away from the other officer," she said.

Then Mr. King jumped up and began "swinging wildly, pushing officers away," Officer Singer said.

"Each officer had portions of his clothing, like his shirt," she said.

"He didn't want to be handcuffed," Sergeant Koon ordered the officers to back away, then fired a Taser electric-shock dart at Mr. King, who "screamed and grabbed his back," Officer Singer said.

When he was "either falling forward, lunging forward or moving in the direction toward" the sergeant, she said, he fired a second dart, and Mr. King fell to his knees.

A Taser has barbed darts attached to long wires. On the videotape, Sergeant Koon can be seen manipulating the wires as Mr. King rolls on the ground.

Within three seconds, Officer Singer said, Officer Powell struck Mr. King with his baton "underneath the cheekbone portion of his face" and "the skin split, and the blood immediately came out."

When Mr. King screamed and covered his face with his hands, Officer Powell struck him across the knuckles, she said.

Officer Singer said that Sergeant Koon told Officer Powell, "That's enough, that's enough," and that Officer Briseno "reached up and stopped Officer Powell from taking another swing." She said she walked back to Mr. King's car, thinking that the incident was over.

But the videotape, the prosecutor emphasized, showed that the beating continued, with Officers Briseno and Wind joining in the beating and Sergeant Koon doing nothing to stop it.

Thief Foiled in Bid To Steal Car and Cop

By Robert D. McFadden

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The annals of crime in New York City plumb a bizarre new dimension with the report that a Bronx man had tried to steal a well-marked transit police car — with a uniformed officer seated in it.

"I gotta go! I gotta go!" the intruder shouted as he jumped in beside the officer, Daniel Daly, and grabbed the wheel of the idling car.

"I thought, 'What the hell are you doing here?'" Officer Daly recalled.

The encounter on Thursday was over quickly: a fierce, cramped struggle joined by a passing bicyclist and the officer's partner, with the intruder finally subdued.

The authorities were scratching their heads over the audacity of it. It is unclear what motivated the suspect, Aundray Burns, 26, who was charged with attempted robbery, assault and resisting arrest.

"We think he was overcome by the sight of this magnificent white and blue patrol car," Mr. O'Leary said.

The car — an almost new \$17,528 Chevrolet Caprice loaded with the customary array of flashing lights, sirens and other police extras — is one of 24 cars in the transit police fleet.

Officer Daly, 37, and his partner, John Rankin, 28, had stopped at the F and J Police Equipment shop on Thursday.

Officer Rankin, who was driving, left the keys in the ignition, the car idling and his partner in the passenger seat and went into the store.

"Suddenly," Officer Daly recalled Friday, "the door opens and this guy jumps in beside me and starts shouting, 'I gotta go! I gotta go! I gotta go! What the hell are you doing here? You don't belong here.' He caught me totally off guard."

A bicyclist, a 20-year-old man, stopped, leaned through the window on the driver's side and tried to help the officer grapple with the intruder.

Officer Rankin, alerted in the equipment shop, ran out and joined the struggle. The two officers finally managed to handcuff the man.

On Gun Bill, Welcome Cover for Bush

By Andrew Rosenthal

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — If there was one thing George Bush did not like when he was vice president, it was standing in the shadow of Ronald Reagan. As president, Mr. Bush

NEWS ANALYSIS

dislikes being compared with the former president.

But some Republican strategists and White House advisers believe that on gun control, Mr. Bush may be quite comfortable in Mr. Reagan's shadow.

Last week the former president endorsed a measure that would provide a seven-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun, during which time the police can conduct a background check.

Instead of feeling that the dramatic move undercut Mr. Bush's own position against the bill, the White House welcomed it.

With the idea of a waiting period on handgun purchases gaining support in Congress and in opinion polls, White House advisers said Friday that the president had been looking for a way to soften his opposition to the bill even before Mr. Reagan endorsed the measure.

That is why Mr. Bush, who had received a day's advance warning of the former president's plans, immediately let it be known that he might be willing to accept a waiting period for handgun purchases. Congress accepted his anti-crime legislation, which flourished on Capitol Hill last year.

The pattern was a familiar one. Like abortion and civil rights, gun control has long been a problem for Mr. Bush.

On each issue, he has at various times in his career courted the Republican right by adopting positions that seemed at odds with his personal inclinations, his upbringing or his career in mainstream Republican politics.

Just as he switched from a pro-choice stand to an anti-abortion position when he became Mr. Reagan's running mate in 1980, there is evidence that Mr. Bush does not have a deep commitment to opposing gun control.

In 1989 he endorsed a ban on imports of semiautomatic weapons despite opposition from the National Rifle Association, of which he is a life member.

Then, too, he found appropriate political cover: Police officers from across the country joined Mr. Bush in full uniform at public appearances at which he explained his switch.

"In talking to people high up in the administration, it's clear that their hearts were never in opposition to the Brady bill," said Representative Charles E. Schumer,

Democrat of New York. "Now it's simply that their heads are catching up with their hearts. They know that they are out of touch with the public on this."

The bill establishing the waiting period for handgun purchases, of which Mr. Schumer is a prime backer, is named for James S. Brady, Mr. Reagan's former press secretary, who was grievously wounded in an attempt on Mr. Reagan's life 10 years ago last week.

Administration officials said the president has not decided whether to change position on the bill.

But the endorsement by Mr. Reagan, who is not only a strong opponent of gun controls but also is an icon of the Republican right, could provide Mr. Bush with enough political cover to stand


aside at least, rather than fight the bill.

Burton Yale Pines, a senior vice president of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative study group, said:

"It gives Bush enormous cover. What Reagan did appeals to the broad group of people who like NRA positions but are not members."

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Soviets Hoard, and Fret, as Food Price Rises Near

By Eleanor Randolph
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Vasil Gorchakov, a metal worker, stood in line for bread and talked about how people who already live on very little may soon start living on less.

"We will buy less. Our children will have less. Less fruit, less vitamins," said Mr. Gorchakov. "It's terrible."

Like millions of Soviet citizens who crowded into increasingly empty stores last week, Mr. Gorchakov and his family were preparing for the leap in prices Tuesday that would double the cost of many staples.

People have been buying whatever was on the shelves, storing cans and boxes and crates in their apartments and hoping that the new prices would somehow increase the supply of meat and vegetables.

In a society known for its stubborn patience, an anger seems to be building, and there are those who fear a rebellion.

"In the long run, people will get angry and there will be an explosion," Mr. Gorchakov said.

Once again, this country seems on the edge of breakdown. While some people say that nothing will change with the prices, others speak darkly of the apocalypse, of civil war, of unimaginable problems ahead.

"April 1st will be a day of jokes," said Yuri Segov, an analyst at the popular weekly newspaper, Argumenty i Fakty. "April 2d will be a day of tears."

The price increases are supposed to be

offset by compensations of at least 60 rubles a month to the average salary of 270 rubles. But the increases will especially hurt pensioners and others on fixed incomes.

Pensioners' monthly income will double, to about 130 rubles, under the new system. But some prices will triple, and move far beyond reach for the ordinary Soviet citizen.

A good sausage, which now costs about 10 rubles and at least two hours in line, will run about 30 rubles starting Tuesday.

Prices of some goods — medicines, coffee, gas, firewood and vodka among them — will remain fixed. And some children's goods will increase only slightly. But one mother, asked whether the special allowances for children's items would help, answered tiredly: "They still have to eat, don't they?"

The business newspaper Kommersant said that consumers and producers would go into a "state of shock" for the next three or four months as a result of this first stage of government price changes.

In the first days after new prices take effect, some are convinced there will be a sharp drop in sales in government stores as people live off of the surplus being stored in their apartments. The drop in sales "is possible because the population now has something like 250 billion rubles worth of staples, over 40 percent of which is food," Kommersant said.

Vyacheslav Senechagov, chairman of the Soviet state committee for prices, said last week that the price increases should allow for a rough equilibrium between supply and

demand. It should also force consumers to use savings.

Where goods have been available, the competition for them at times has been intense. Outside Moscow, an elderly woman with heart disease collapsed and died Tuesday after people lining up for sausage refused to let her move to the head of the line.

Shoppers, intent on buying sausage before the price tripled, continued pushing ahead of the woman, a resident of the small town of Kozelsk, as she was dying. Tass reported that some of them later blamed the authorities for allowing them to stand in line next to a corpse.

Miners Threaten to Flood Mines

Striking miners from southern Siberia threatened Sunday to flood coal mines unless legislators in the Russian Republic met their economic and political demands, news services reported.

The legislators were startled by the threat from Anatoli Moliga, a strike leader in the Kuznetsk Basin. From Siberia to the Polish border, about 300,000 of the country's 1.2 million miners have joined the strike, which began March 1 as a 24-hour walkout.

Mr. Moliga warned that miners were preparing to flood the mines to protest government inaction.

He recommended that a commission, comprising members from four republics, be formed to negotiate with the striking miners. The miners are demanding better working and living conditions and a doubling of their wages.

Miners now earn an average of 375 rubles a month, about 40 percent above the national norm. Miners also have political demands, which vary by region. Mr. Moliga reiterated the Kuznetsk demands for the resignation of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and the election of a new Russian parliament.

The threat to flood functioning mines came on the fourth day of a special Russian parliamentary session that has been bogged down in a power struggle between supporters of Boris N. Yeltsin, the republic's president, and opponents of his leadership.

In a tumultuous session Saturday, a former Yeltsin ally accused him of trying to create a "new dictatorship" with "absolute powers" in the guise of democratic change.

Vladimir Isakov, the Russian legislature's deputy chairman, told the session that Mr. Yeltsin had repeatedly flouted constitutional norms in pursuit of personal ambition.

Mr. Isakov, a self-described moderate Communist, spoke on behalf of six leaders of the republic who called the emergency session to consider a vote of no confidence in Mr. Yeltsin. Although Mr. Yeltsin won a victory by avoiding such a vote, he has been unable to put on the agenda a measure to create a popularly elected Russian president, which would vastly widen his authority.

"A new dictatorship is under way," Mr. Isakov said, "and, despite the use of sacred words and the thunder of drums, not to speak of it is to commit a crime against the people and one's own conscience." (AP, WP)

Major Curt Morgan of the United States Marines, center, and Captain Matthew McCarrville of the U.S. Army praying at Mass on Easter Sunday in the only Roman Catholic Church in Kuwait City.

REVOLT: GIs Find It Hard to Sit By Amid the Strife

(Continued from page 1)

in the town when the loyalist troops attacked were killed. Some managed to escape, sneaking out from Bedouin camps on the western edge of the railroad to the 90-kilometer stretch through the desert to the southbound highway.

Captain Miller, explaining the Republican Guard tactics in taking over Iraqi cities, said: "They come if the town is unclear, meaning it is not pro-Saddam. It is defiled by the rebels."

Lieutenant Isom added that for the Republican Guard if you are not them, "you are unclear, and

the only way to clean you is to kill you."

"We cannot comprehend how soldiers can behave like that, go in and kill everyone over 12," he said. "These men are not soldiers. It is almost like genocide."

The battle for control of Samawah, one of the last Shiite rebel strongholds to fall in the Euphrates River sector, raged for three days until the town fell Thursday.

Rebel fighters tried to hold their ground with rifles and small machine guns against the loyalist troops, who pounded their positions with artillery and advanced into town with heavy armor.

"They were out of ammunition and outgunned," said Captain Miller, commander of infantry troops of the U.S. Army's 3d Squadron, 2d Cavalry Regiment. "You don't fight tanks and artillery with rifles."

Soviet-made B-18 helicopters firing rockets were used against Samawah residents. "We could have used our own helicopters to take them out," he said. "We could have taken them out of the air."

"It increased in intensity for the big push," Captain Miller said. "There was a mounting crescendo of small-arms fire. Then they shelled it through the night from batteries just north of the river. It was over by about three in the afternoon."

Lieutenant Isom said: "Several hundred people were living in the fields, in the ditches. They were shelled. We saw it. People were living there in tents and tarps."

"You could see the concrete coming out of the roofs," he said. "They shoot at a target until they hit it, and then they move to something else. They fired at the hospital twice. We were watching them shell the train station and other small houses. This was simply designed to kill civilians or terrorize them, which it did. It did not have a military purpose, just artillery impacts on large concentrations of civilians."

The soldiers at the oil refinery said that at one point, 3,000 people came to hide in their midst. When U.S. soldiers tried to distribute food, leftovers from their own

Dissident's Wife Makes Appeal to China Parliament

BEIJING — The wife of an imprisoned dissident has made an emotional plea to China's parliament to right the wrongs done to political prisoners.

In a letter to members of the National People's Congress, the mainly rubber-stamp parliament currently holding its annual session, the wife of Wang Jintao, a dissident, asked for action.

"Deputies, what are you doing?" Hou Xiaojian asked. Her husband, 32, a longtime pro-democracy activist, has been sentenced to 13 years for allegedly being one of the masterminds of the 1989 Tiananmen protests.

"Haven't you ever realized that you can use your powers to right wrongs?" she asked in the letter, dated March 25.

Legal appeals by Mr. Wang and Chen Ziming, 39, an economist also jailed for 13 years, have been rejected. Mr. Chen's family has denounced his trial as unfair, and called on the courts and parliament for a review.

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Israel Formalizes Restrictions on Palestinians

By Jackson Diehl
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — The government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir adopted a program on Sunday sharply restricting the entry of Palestinians into Israel and endorsed an increase in such punishments as home demolitions and deportations of militants.

The measures, which officials said would permanently reduce the number of Palestinians working in Israel by more than 50 percent, were adopted in response to recent stabbing attacks by Palestinians against Israelis. Several attacks have been carried out inside Israel by Arabs who live in the occupied Gaza Strip or West Bank.

The cabinet's decision will have the effect of institutionalizing the tough controls on the movement of Palestinians that Israel originally applied at the end of the Gulf war.

"In a way it's nothing new, because these measures have already been in effect," said Danny Navah, a spokesman for Defense Minister Moshe Arens.

Under the new system, Palestinians will not be allowed into Israel without a permit issued by the military administration in the territories. Even if they obtain a permit, workers registered in legal jobs, Palestinians will not be allowed to bring their own cars into the country, officials said.

Palestinian economists say the system will deal another serious blow to living standards in the occupied lands, which have already fallen because of the effects of the Gulf war and the three-year uprising against Israeli rule. At present, only about 50,000 Palestinian workers have been given permission to work in Israel, compared with 110,000 who commuted to jobs in the country up until January.

Officials said Sunday that the new measures would probably cause employment to fall further. The regulations prohibit any Palestinian from entering the country who has been arrested for such "security violations" as stone-throwing or who has a criminal record.

Palestinians say security officials are also refusing permits to people

with clean records if they have relatives in jail, or because they are young.

The clampdown comes at a time when the Bush administration is pressing Israel to liberalize rather than tighten controls on Palestinians.

As part of an effort to start a new Middle East peace process, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d asked the Shamir government last month to consider steps such as opening closed universities in the territories and releasing detainees.

Defense Ministry officials said Sunday that they were considering plans to open universities and release some prisoners, but that no decisions had been made.

In recent years Israel has usually released some Arab detainees as a goodwill gesture during Ramadan, which is now under way.

The officials stressed that such steps were not being considered as a result of Mr. Baker's suggestion, but were part of the government's program before the Gulf crisis.

Government officials confirmed Sunday that three Palestinian leaders from the Gaza Strip had been allowed to leave for a trip to Egypt and Saudi Arabia to raise money for development projects.

Bush Aide Visits Allies in Secret For Talks on Iraq

WASHINGTON — President George Bush's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, made an unannounced trip to the Middle East last week to consult with American allies on the postwar situation in Iraq, according to an administration official.

Officially, the White House would confirm only that Mr. Scowcroft had been in the Middle East. But an administration official who insisted on anonymity said, "Scowcroft was sent to consult on the Middle East situation, particularly the postwar situation in Iraq."

The official said Mr. Scowcroft was in the Middle East from Tuesday night through Thursday night but would not say what countries he visited. Mr. Scowcroft was accompanied by Richard N. Haass, his deputy for Near East and South Asia affairs.

ARABS: Hint of Lesser PLO Role

(Continued from page 1)

customary Arab mention of the PLO as their "sole and legitimate representative." It was a clear signal that the triumphant Arab coalition in the war would not easily forget the PLO's support of Iraq.

Reinforcing the message, the Gulf Cooperation Council, which consists of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman, affirmed in a statement that it was cutting off economic aid to the PLO and Jordan because of their support for Iraq during the crisis.

The Arab League meeting was recessed until May, when the members' foreign ministers are scheduled to attend. Mr. Abdel Meguid was the only foreign minister at this meeting.

After the closed session, Mr. Hammoudi asserted that the sentiment of those present was "to put what happened behind us and look ahead to better things."

U.S. Intervention In Iraq Is Urged By 2 Democrats

WASHINGTON — Two leading Democratic members of Congress on Sunday urged U.S. military intervention to prevent flights by government combat helicopters in the civil war in Iraq.

The Senate majority leader, George J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maine, and Representative Lee H. Hamilton, Democrat of Indiana, the chairman of the Middle East Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, expressed deep concern over the effect of Iraqi Army helicopter raids on rebels and noncombatants.

Mr. Mitchell said President George Bush should enforce his initial position that such combat helicopter flights violate allied cease-fire terms.

Beyond the issue of helicopter flights, both Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Hamilton said they supported a general policy of nonintervention in Iraq to avoid the fragmentation of that country.

Mr. Bush initially said that, by using helicopters for combat, the Iraqis were violating the temporary cease-fire laid down by U.S. and allied military commanders.

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Luxembourg	L.F. 33/3-271 03 04	12,000	8,000	6,600	3,600
Netherlands	N.L. 055/21 23 27	650	533	360	200
Norway	N.K. 33/01-4637 9448	3,000	1,368	1,600	900
Portugal	P. 0034/1-555 10 85	3,200	1,168	1,760	970
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Sweden	S. 91/555 10 85	43,500	20,200	24,000	13,200
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Progress for Kuwaitis

For seven terrible months Iraq turned the Emirate of Kuwait into a penal colony and its citizens into virtual prisoners. Only the worst of this ordeal has ended for the 250,000 Kuwaitis who stayed and survived the brutal occupation. Hellish oil fires blacken the sky. rudimentary services are only now starting to return, and shops and banks are still shuttered. What is far more worrisome is that Kuwait's complacent rulers seem to have learned nothing from calamity. Americans have surely earned the right to speak up.

Kuwait recently enjoyed the world's highest per capita income. People once talked, not entirely in jest, of air-conditioning the whole country, under a translucent dome. This privileged existence made Saddam Hussein's conquest more shocking. Iraq troops plundered all that was portable. Thousands of Kuwaitis were detained, torture was routine, and reprisals for resistance were savage.

This experience was not shared, or its implications grasped, by Kuwait's ruling family, which sat out the Gulf war in a Saudi Arabian resort city.

The postwar question that seemed most to preoccupy the emir, Sheikh Jaber al Ahmad al Sabah, and his royal relatives was who should receive the lucrative contracts to rebuild the country. The heroism of the resistance inside Kuwait was mocked by an exiled aide who assured American television viewers that he was ready for real sacrifices — like getting along with two maids instead of four. Although Kuwait's exiled leaders did promise to reinstate a long-suspended constitution, no date has been fixed for elections. The emir waited 16 days before returning to Kuwait City and has been invisible since. A government

dominated by his family seems unable either to assert or to delegate authority. Obviously, leaders of Kuwait's pro-democracy resistance are being harassed, even shot at; some are among 2,000 detained in camps as grim as those of the Iraqis.

All this should concern Americans, and especially President George Bush. It was the plight of the Kuwaiti people that galvanized Desert Storm and inspired United Nations condemnation of Iraq. It is scarcely unreasonable for those who organized the resistance to seek a fairer say in their own government. Their resentment is understandable when the emir shows more concern for restoring his luxurious life-style than for the welfare of his people.

There are channels for America to express these concerns diplomatically. But the emir and his family should also understand that, on this matter, U.S. diplomacy only reflects widespread U.S. disgust.

Americans long ago fought a revolution against the feudal belief in hereditary kingship. The lesson endures: Without consent of the governed, a royal crown is hollow indeed.

Among specific goals for a freer Kuwait would be ending press censorship by royal whim, extending real political rights to non-Kuwaitis who have proved their loyalty and abolishing the tiered citizenship that makes some Kuwaitis more equal than others. Progress on these lines could do more for Kuwait's good name than a whole motorcade of air-conditioned Rolls-Royces.

Rarely have so few owed so much to so many as in Kuwait. It is a debt that the ruling family can begin to repay by transforming a political system based on privilege into a constitutional order that finally recognizes the rights that Kuwaitis have suffered for.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dealing With Beijing

American hopes for the China trade run in cycles. On the upswing, Americans think expansively of the possibilities of a market of a billion people. They think, correctly, of the political benefits of widening trade as it brings a closed society into closer contact with the outside world and introduces new ideas along with new products. But American trade with China now seems to have entered the cycle's downswing, with the Chinese cutting off the foreigners' access. China gets a lot of attention in the annual report on trade barriers that the Bush administration has just published.

The Chinese have been tightening the restrictions on foreign goods coming into their country. One source of particular irritation to exporters is a proliferation of undisclosed policies, never available to foreigners, that take precedence over the public laws. At the same time the Chinese have been gaining a reputation as voracious pirates of copyrighted products — books, music and especially computer software. There seems to be a kind of recklessness in Chinese disregard of the normal rules of trade.

Meanwhile, they have been rapidly increasing their own exports to the United States. Last year China ranked third (after Japan and Taiwan) in its bilateral trading surplus with the United States. This year it will probably rank second. The Japanese

surplus is much larger than China's, and the trade barriers there are more important. But the Japanese surplus is coming down, while China's is going up.

There is a perceptible shift of the administration's attention toward China's current performance as a trading partner. Every year since 1980, successive presidents have recommended giving China ready access to the American market by granting most-favored-nation status. It means that Chinese goods come in at the lowest tariff rate offered to any other country. Last year a lot of people in Congress challenged MFN for China in response to the Beijing massacre in 1989 of the students demonstrating for democracy.

President George Bush was right a year ago to support MFN on grounds that it might strengthen the reformers who are trying to open up the Chinese economy. But it will be a more difficult choice for him this year. There has not been the required improvement in the government's treatment of human rights. The arguments about the liberalizing effects of trade lose much of their force if the Chinese are choking off the inbound flow and only pushing exports. In the House of Representatives last year, a substantial majority opposed extending MFN for China. This year the Chinese seem to be doing everything possible to increase it.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

A Sacrifice in Dublin

In Dublin 75 years ago, a tiny army of Irish rebels and patriots took possession of the main post office. There, on Easter Monday, they proclaimed the birth of an Irish Republic and the end of England's imperial rule. The rising was quixotic, had little support and was swiftly put down. Yet with vengeful ferocity the British ordered the execution, one by one, of 15 rebel leaders, including a trade unionist suffering from gangrened wounds who had to be propped up to be shot.

When the grisly business was done, William Butler Yeats wrote, Ireland had "changed, changed utterly — a terrible beauty is born." The victims themselves sensed that there was a blood sacrifice that presaged rebirth and renewal, that their deaths might some day be seen as the secular incarnation of a sacred season. But the Easter Rising also proved to be a dress rehearsal for much good and ill that lay ahead as empires fell and ordinary people asserted history.

After the rebellion came martial law, and then a two-year guerrilla war fought without quarter in city and countryside. Rebels formed an underground army. Britain recruited a tough supplementary force, the Black and Tans, so called for their khaki tunics and black trousers. The burnings, killings, raids and reprisals reached a climax on Bloody Sunday, Nov. 21, 1920, when British troops fired indiscriminately at a soccer crowd, killing a dozen and wounding scores.

In 1921, Britain compromised with Irish rebels, the first step in imperial retreat. A treaty was signed creating an Irish Free State as a self-governing dominion, but also giving predominantly Protestant Northern Ireland the right to remain part of Britain. After a bitter civil war in the new Free State, the bloodletting ended as an exhausted Ireland turned to Eamon de Valera, the sole surviving commander in the Easter Rising, whose death sentence had been commuted. Later, Dublin's remaining ties to the British Crown were scrapped, and the Republic of Ireland was proclaimed.

It was a cycle that would be repeated with variations in half a hundred colonies: rebellion and repression, martyrs and massacres, victory and partition, civil war and the emergence of a single strong leader who had once been held in a colonial prison. And yet, it might be sadly added, those who have suffered denial of rights too often close their own hearts and minds to others who are desperate to preserve their own birthright — like Irish Protestants in Northern Ireland.

Now that old Western empires have gone, and their Communist successor has crumbled, one can look back with awe at the small band of teachers, poets and trade unionists who rose up for Ireland. In a real sense, we live in the world they helped bring into being in a season of Christian sacrifice and ascension, in 1916.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Other Comment

Power Struggle in Moscow

The surge in the power struggle between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin shows that the Soviet Union is becoming an unpredictable factor. Neither of the rivals dominates, both fall in many aspects. With the mutual blockade, each front the other more firmly entrenched. The people turn to Mr. Yeltsin because he spreads hope from the opposition, but his colleagues the law-

makers will not allow him the breakthrough to legal Russian sovereignty. Mr. Gorbachev has lost the intellectuals and the media. He relies on the armed forces, the party and the security services. The army is like the spear which pierces his hand. It swears by the unity of the Soviet Union, socialism and order. For the army, reforms do not mean a multiparty system, division of power and basic rights, as Mr. Yeltsin wants.

—Welt am Sonntag (Hamburg)

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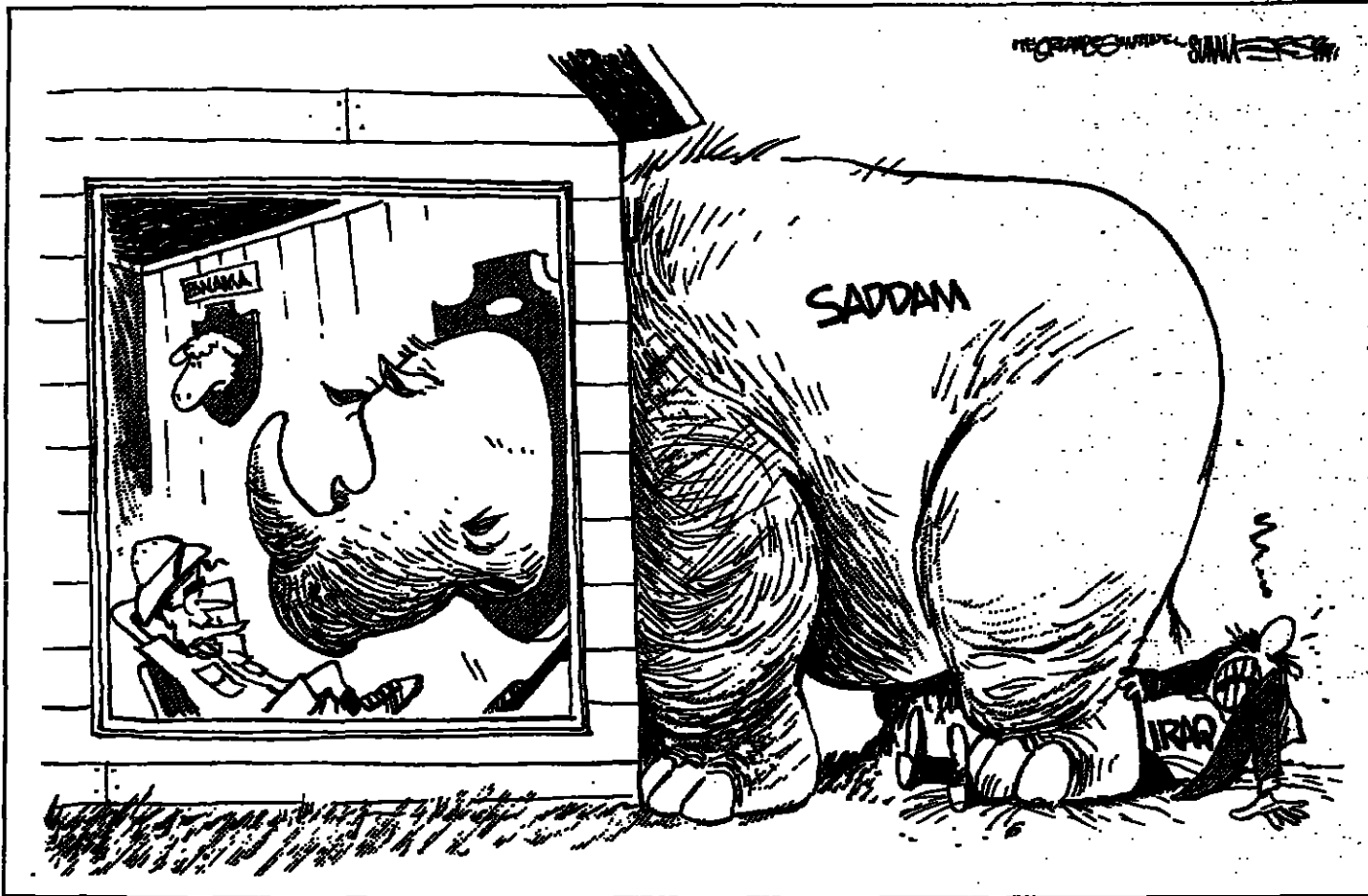
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OPINION



Help the Iraqis to Win Their War Against Saddam

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — The cease-fire in Iraq is one-sided. American and allied arms are still, but Iraqi troops continue to blast and kill their own people now, to preserve the power of Saddam Hussein and his clique. It seems incredible that the United States has decided to abet this effort by refusing all aid to rebels desperate to get rid of the dictator.

Refugees report that the great Mosque of Ali in Najaf has been destroyed. This is the same Saddam Hussein who called for holy war in the name of Allah and the Arab nation. He is beneficiary of the same George Bush who compared him to Hitler and called on Iraqis to oust him.

White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater, declaring U.S. neutrality, said, "We do not intend to involve ourselves in the internal power struggles" in Iraq — almost the same words Ambassador April Glaspie used about the Iraqi-Kuwaiti dispute in her interview with Saddam just before he invaded Kuwait.

Rub your eyes, pinch yourself. The country has been devastated by coalition forces, leaving the people without food, water, electricity, fuel. But the loyalist armed forces retain enough might to finish them off, and are going about it vigorously.

General Norman Schwarzkopf wanted to pursue the Republican Guard and complete destruction of their arsenal, but President Bush ordered a cease-fire. That was sensible, to end the ordeal as quickly as possible. Now that force is turned against its own people, and the United States crosses its arms in smug complacency.

An unnamed official in the Bush administration is quoted from Washington saying: "This is something that's going to have to sort itself out. One of the losers is going to be Saddam Hussein. We know he's eventually going to fall anyway."

Meanwhile, with 65,000 American troops in the country, let them feed terrified refugees and deserters who make it to their lines, and let the killing proceed in the rest of the land? It is hard to imagine greater cruelty and hypocrisy, especially after repeated Washington assurances that the United States had nothing against the Iraqi people. They were not the enemy, the bombs were not for them.

The official explanation is a jumbled mumble that the Iraqi people

and other Arabs would resent U.S. interference now that Kuwait is liberated; that even humanitarian help to Saddam Hussein's opponents would complicate American peace efforts in the Middle East. "It raises all kinds of political problems," the same Washington official offered obtusely.

The real reasons are provided by the Iraqi opposition, so disclaimed and discounted by Washington that the State Department refused to talk to a visiting delegation earlier this month, despite a congressional request. The delegation met Senator Claiborne Pell and Representative Les Hamilton and Stephen Solarz, among others, but nobody from the administration.

One reason is fear of Iranian influence and Shiite fundamentalism, but in eight years of war with Iran, which made every effort to woo Iraqi Shiites,

almost all remained loyal to their country and opposed to the idea of an Islamic Republic. Another reason is that the opposition, composed of all major elements of Iraq's diverse society, has called for a democratic government with free elections. This is not the idea that the rulers of Saudi Arabia and the emirates are keen to endorse.

The United States insists that Iraq's territorial integrity and statehood be maintained. That is precisely what the whole opposition supported in a joint declaration signed by exiled leaders in Beirut on March 13. But the spread of civil war, much likelier than the restoration of "order" by Saddam's remaining forces, however brutal, could bring intervention by Iran, Syria and Turkey and increase the threat of fragmentation.

There is no need for American

troops to take part in the fighting. It would make a huge difference if Saddam Hussein's forces were denied the use of helicopters, reinstating the initial, sound policy which General Schwarzkopf would prefer to apply. And at least as important would be political support for the rebels and humanitarian aid — supplies of food, water and medicine — so that they can get on with taking their country back from the tyrant.

It is tragic that the United States, which gave Iraqis the courage to defy Saddam by going to war and defeating him, now refuses them the possibility of reaching their goal of freedom. It is as bad a policy as the pre-crisis support for Saddam Hussein which built him up and brought the conflict. Is the United States good only at fighting, not at thinking, in the Gulf? Which side is it on?

© Flora Lewis

Better to Stand Aside From This Fray

By Leslie H. Gelb

NEW YORK — Americans are appalled by the spectacle of Iraqi forces slaughtering Kurds and Shiites, and they instinctively favor giving these people their own homelands. But before skewering President George Bush for not throwing U.S. military power into Iraq's civil war, let's be clear and honest about a few matters.

First, stopping Saddam Hussein's forces is not a simple question of shooting down Iraqi aircraft and helicopters. It would require American military intervention — probably on a large scale and for a long time, with uncertain results.

Second, if a Kurdish homeland in northern Iraq also means a Shiite state in the south, that arrangement spells nothing but trouble for the United States and its friends. American interests do not always call for fostering national self-determination.

Third, new nation-states inside the old Iraq are not likely to be democratic. Most probably they will be dictatorships that will victimize their own citizens, terrorize their own minorities and invite foreign intrigue. The issue is not whether Mr. Bush will rest until that monster is gone, and he will be gone. The issue is whether the United States should intervene with force in Iraq's civil war.

Champions of intervention want to vastly enlarge U.S. war aims. It is not enough for them to smash Iraq's military power to threaten its neighbors and remove Saddam from power. They now insist on destroying Baghdad's capacity to control Iraq itself.

One day they recommended warning Baghdad against using chemical weapons. That's fine. The next, no helicopters. Good also. The next, no tanks. But even if the United States enforced all these prohibitions, the fighting and killing would not stop.

The logic of intervention leads inevitably to capturing Baghdad. Iraqi troops failed to fight in Kuwait, but one cannot count on similar timidity in their citadel. Who will fight by America's side? No one. What of civilian casualties? Many more. What do you do after you occupy Baghdad? The goal of intervention presumably would be self-determination. It is a worthy one, most of the time. But just as it is beyond America's power to stop Saddam's Iraq's internal future, it is contrary to America's interests to sponsor Iraq's disintegration.

The Kurds deserve statehood as

much as anyone. But a good Kurdish state in northern Iraq cannot come to pass without a bad Shiite state in southern Iraq. Giving Iran and revolutionary fundamentalism this foothold would be a disaster for America.

Considerable autonomy for Kurds in Iraq is another question. Kurdish leaders say now that it is all they really want. That is something Washington can help create by tough bargaining with Baghdad.

One thing Washington cannot do, however, is to bring democracy to Iraq — even if Americans occupied the place as we did with Germany and Japan. It is simply very hard to imagine democracy taking root in Arab-Islamic states at this time.

The number of Iraqi democrats would not raise a quorum at a cocktail party. None of the conditions for and traditions of democracy exist in Iraq. Iraq has no experience with free elections, free press, the rule of law.

Americans could make themselves feel very self-righteous by urging the few democrats on and deluding themselves that would-be dictators are democrats. But such wishful thinking, especially when coupled with a push for self-determination, runs extremely high risks. Instability may be an abstract and meaningless concept to certain pundits and politicians, but to many presidents and peoples its meaning is concrete and terrifying — religious and tribal bloodletting, constant warring by outside powers over control, and a permanent state of anarchy. Ask the Lebanese about anarchy.

How does one balance this risk against the daily reality of Iraqi troops murdering Kurds and Shiites? The answer is simple: The interventionists think the decision is easy: Just start shooting Baghdad's forces again and cheer on all Baghdad's democratic and nationalist opponents.

To me, it is a devil's choice — killing now, killing later — best resolved by Mr. Bush continuing to warn all about the consequences of brutality, but staying out and keeping others out. U.S. military intervention would not end the killing or bring democracy to Iraq. Only Iraqis can arrange their own affairs, make their own peace — and save themselves.

The New York Times

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1891: Alert for Anarchy

PARIS — It is not pleasant to discover a cart in the middle of the highway containing 450 lb. of stolen dynamite. It is still more unpleasant to discover that this dynamite has been stolen by Anarchists. Taken in connection with the recent seizure of papers belonging to an Anarchist club in Italy, containing plans for a general rising of Anarchists all over Europe on the first of May next, the seizure of the stolen dynamite in Belgium is a disagreeable reminder that it will not do to relax all precaution for the preservation of order on the first of May, merely because the day passed quietly last year. In all Europe measures will be taken to preserve the peace on that day. The watched Anarchist, like the watched pot, seldom boils.

1916: Cuisine à la Carte

BERLIN — Rolling kitchens are the innovation in Berlin streets. At these may be obtained portions of food for

Who Wants Another Lebanon?

By Christine Helms

WASHINGTON — The euphoria of victory is fading — even loving, to hate Saddam Hussein is becoming passé — as the Bush administration bemoans the realization that security in the Middle East does not come out of the barrel of a gun.

The worst nightmare the region faces is the Lebanonization of Iraq, as Kurds, Shiites and Sunnis complete the devastation of seven months of sanctions and six weeks of a punishing war. Even if General Norman Schwarzkopf were to give full win to Iraqi helicopters to suppress the rebellions, the process of Iraq's disintegration may be unstoppable.

Iraq has 15 million people and is a Pandora's box of ethnic, linguistic and religious differences. Some 20 percent are Sunni Kurds concentrated in northern Iraq. Shiite Arabs, 55 percent, are concentrated in the south. The remaining are primarily Sunni Arabs living in central Iraq. Each of these populations has subsets within subsets. There are pockets of Kurds in the north and 500,000 Christians in Baghdad and Mosul. The Kurds have many tribes, dialects and competing political goals.

None of these groups is financially independent or likely to form viable entities. Imagine the water potential of the Tigris and Iraq's valuable oil and production capabilities driven by even greater geopolitical tension.

Furthermore, Iraq is now a wreck. Its infrastructure — especially water and electrical facilities — has been bombed into the "pre-industrial" age, in the language of a United Nations report. Famine and epidemics loom. The country is deeply in debt.

Iraq's fragmentation would be far more consequential than Lebanon's. Iran and Turkey would experience further instability among their own Kurdish populations. Southern Iraq would be vulnerable to Iranian aspirations to control Shiite shrines in the Iraqi cities of Najaf and Karbala — hardly comforting to the conservative, hereditary regimes of the Gulf. Other problems would be caused or unleashed: sectarian polarization among Shiites and Kurds, Muslims and non-Muslims, Arabs and non-Arabs; fierce competition for scarce resources as the region's population doubles within two decades.

The war has already resulted in psychological devastation and anti-American sentiment in many Arab and non-Arab Muslim states. For now the trouble is diffuse, but it could take the form of radical political activism and terrorism. Coalition allies in the region — Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt — have numerous domestic problems. Present allies may not be there tomorrow.

Some pundits cavalierly urge America to invade, militarily or politically, in Iraq domestic affairs. Yet the U.S.-led military, which is responsible for devastating Iraq's infrastructure and inflicting 200,000 casualties, is less likely to be embraced than re-sented as a colonial power. Iraq cannot be occupied like Kuwait.

Democratic theory, exported or imposed, is not a panacea for political instability; perhaps the reverse.

Iraq opposition groups feasting at banquet tables in Saudi Arabia, Iran and Syria do not talk about democracy or sharing power. Their alliance is a temporary convenience. The thrust of their message is "opposition." For some, opposition has been a livelihood for more than a decade.

They have yet to articulate a framework or agenda for uniting Iraq's pluralistic society. The danger is that they are lining up to settle vendettas, just as Kuwaitis have reportedly tortured Iraqis and their purported collaborators.

The misfortune of the region, as history reminds us, is that everyone is all too ready to exact, then justify, retribution.

The United States and its allies had a limited military objective: ejecting Iraqi forces from Kuwait. George Bush left little doubt that he believed that ousting Saddam was equally important to regional security. But a more precise, more honest, more realistic condition than the fate of a marginalized dictator clinging to power in a "pre-industrial" country. Military might alone failed to create stability in a region where problems are embedded in profound economic, political and social ills.

Yet if Iraq's disintegration creates more regional instability, will the military leave? Increasingly, it becomes hard to distinguish victim from victor in the Gulf crisis.

The writer is author of "Arabism and Islam: Stateless Nations and Nationless States." She contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Jailed for Testing China's Tyrants

By Li Shuxian

PRINCETON, New Jersey — Liu Gang has been sentenced to six years in prison in Beijing for "counterrevolutionary crimes."

I first met him five years ago on the campus of Beijing University. He was a master's student in the Physics Department, where I was on the faculty. I have observed his "criminal behavior" since then.

In September 1985, students at Beijing University held a series of lively discussions about the Japanese invasion of China in the 1930s and about current Chinese government policy toward Japan. Liu Gang put up a poster that referred to Chinese government corruption. Undercover agents videotaped this "criminal" act and later threatened to ruin him with it if he did not "reform." This was the beginning of Liu Gang's criminal career.

In December 1986, police in Shanghai severely beat a student for dancing with a foreigner at an occasion where only specified Chinese were authorized to dance. When the news spread to Beijing students, they marched in protest. Sixty were arrested, 33 of whom were from Beijing University and one of whom was the "criminal" Liu Gang.

In April 1987, he conducted an experiment. It was time for district elections of "people's representatives" in Beijing. Although written law stated that any 10 citizens could nominate a candidate at this level, in fact the candidates were always named in advance by the Communist Party. Liu Gang decided to be the "naive citizen" who would presume to exercise his formal rights.

He organized Beijing University students to nominate their own distinct candidates. For this, party authorities first "counseled" him and then crassly threatened him, saying, for example, that they would release the "incriminating" videotape that showed him putting up a poster

in 1985. He replied that he was agreeable to the release of all that the officials knew about him, because he had nothing to hide.

He said that his motive before the Beijing University students was not to run for office himself but simply wanted to test how far the rights of the citizen in the Chinese constitution could actually be exercised. The students loved it and triumphantly elected his candidates. But in sequestered party offices, another "crime" went into his file.

Liu Gang's stubborn attachment to principle led to other "peculiar" experiments. He set out on a one-man trek through China's poorest and most remote areas in order to understand them and to "temper himself." Even more boldly, after finishing his master's degree he resigned from his state-assigned job, forsaking the lifetime security known in China as the "iron rice bowl." "I don't want prefabricated security," he said.

The iron rice bowl allows you the option of doing nothing. I want to be useful. I believe my training in physics has real value and that my abilities have real value. I'm interested to see how far our society will let a person go as an independent agent based on real value alone.

He then supported himself through temporary jobs at Beijing factories and enterprises, living out the state system that both supports and controls. He often went back to Beijing University to meet friends and talk with students. A "free agent" causing trouble on campus? Another "crime" in his dossier.

Liu Gang's so-called crimes at Tiananmen are the most farfetched of all. He is a pacifist. While placing difficult demands upon himself, with others he is unusually moder-

ate and always advises against extremist action. He played this kind of role at Tiananmen.

How then should we understand his "trial" and sentencing? This is a puzzle only for foreigners, not for Chinese who have endured 40 years of Communist rule. "Trials" such as Liu Gang's have nothing to do with law in the Western sense. They were dressed in that clothing only to deceive the outside world.

What actually happens, as in all of China's political persecutions, is that a certain leader determines an outcome that serves as a holy writ throughout the process. Which rule will be applied, against whom and with what result is predetermined by this arbitrary act. The only question, so routine that it has become a slogan, is: "Confess and get leniency, or resist and get severity." Guilt is assumed, either way.

Chinese people know that the meaning of the slogan is that some people, the "confessors," are forced into self-demonstration or falsely described as giving it — and therefore lose their dignity, family and friends. The "resisters," on the other hand, are dealt cruel punishments whose primary aim, like that of a crucifixion, is to warn others by striking fear into their hearts. Both methods serve one goal: the power of dictators.

People who live in chronic fear come to mistrust one another; lies and terror poison the whole of a society's atmosphere. Sham trials have significance far beyond the fate of one lovable and quibbling young man, important though that alone must be. Liu Gang, his fellow victims, their families and all of China need the world's support.

The writer, a former associate professor of physics at Beijing University, contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

EUROBONDS

Ecu Shines as Volume Of Issues Nears Record

By Carl Gewirtz
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — A near-record \$64.7 billion of Eurobonds was issued in the first quarter, data compiled by Salomon Brothers shows. More significant than the high volume was the redistribution of the new business: Issues denominated in European currency units catapulted to second place behind a much diminished U.S. dollar and far outdistanced the yen and the Deutsche mark, which traditionally vie for second and third place.

The Deutsche mark tumbled to seventh place, accounting for a record-low 6% percent of new issues. Sterling, in fourth place, returned to its former glory with a 12-percent share while the fifth-ranked French franc captured 9 percent of the market, more than double its previous best last year.

Overall, activity was up 49 percent from the previous three months and was double the pace of the year-ago quarter. In comparison to the \$77.85 billion of issues floated in last year's third quarter, this year's volume was only 17 percent below that record level.

The period covered the mid-January outbreak of war in the Gulf and the mid-February cessation of hostilities. During the war, money was moving into bonds because they represented a relatively safe haven, and following the quick war there was a widespread euphoria that interest rates worldwide would be pulled down by the prospect of a decline in the price of oil.

But in contrast to other periods of robust market expansion, the U.S. dollar took a back seat with issues amounting to \$18.2 billion and accounting for a record low of only 28 percent of total issues. This is down from last year's 36 percent share of the market. In 1987 and 1988, the dollar's share was 40 percent. Otherwise, historically, the dollar has accounted for more than half of overall activity.

The two outstanding features in the dollar sector are the increase in classic straight bonds, which accounted for 67 percent of dollar issues, and the decline in equity-warrant bonds — primarily used by Japanese companies — to 25 percent from the high of 52 percent registered in 1989.

ISSUERS WERE ATTRACTED TO fixed-coupon straight bonds because of the drop in interest rates. The yield on the benchmark U.S. government 10-year bond dipped below 8 percent compared to just over 9 percent a few months earlier and borrowers obviously considered the decline a good opportunity to lock in fixed-rate financing.

But during the half period — up to mid-February — the dollar itself was tumbling to record lows on the foreign exchange market and bonds in that currency were not much sought-after. Since mid-February, the dollar has recovered 17 percent — but investors remain skittish about buying bonds, fearing that U.S. interest rates have reached bottom.

The decline in the dollar contributed to the popularity of the Ecu, a basket of the 12 European Community currencies in which the Deutsche mark accounts for just over 30 percent of the value. For most of the period, Ecu bonds were yielding a percentage point or more than comparable dated DM bonds, making the Ecu an attractive substitute.

In addition, a number of jumbo Ecu issues were launched — comforting institutional investors who had stayed away from the market out of fear that the secondary market was not liquid enough to accommodate active trading.

In all, Ecu volume totaled the equivalent of \$11.86 billion — just \$6 million short of the amount issued during all of last year and one-third greater than the annual volume of 1989. Ecu issues accounted for 18 percent of total first-quarter activity.

Starting with the equivalent of \$7.7 billion, and the French franc, with the equivalent of \$5.9 billion, also benefited from declining interest rates that still provided investors with higher returns than those available on DM bonds. Sterling drew additional support from the British government's decision to link the currency to the Community's fixed exchange rate mechanism, removing worries about a devaluation.

The yen managed to hold its traditional third position with the equivalent of \$8.4 billion, giving it a 13 percent share of total activity.

The Canadian dollar was in sixth place with an 8 1/2 percent market share on total volume equivalent to \$5.5 billion.

Last week, Ontario Hydro launched another of its global Canadian dollar bonds — a zero-coupon issue running for 40 years. The face amount totaled 3.99 billion Canadian dollars and

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For U.S. Trade, Open and Shut Cases

1990 Inventory Shows Widening of Complaints

By Clyde H. Farnsworth
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration has found fewer trade barriers in Japan than it did last year, but more in the European Community, Canada, Mexico, China, South Korea, India, Australia and Thailand, according to a special trade report.

The administration still listed more trade complaints against Japan than against any other nation, however.

Carla A. Hills, the U.S. trade representative, said the sixth annual U.S. inventory of trade barriers "underscores the tremendous amount of work that still needs to be done" in trying to open markets.

As coordinator of administration trade policy and head of the trade office that negotiates with other governments, Mrs. Hills was in charge of preparing this year's catalogue, the National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers.

The report is required by Congress as a way for the executive branch to shed light on trade policy directions for the coming 12 months.

For the first time since the reports began in 1986, there was a discussion of trading and economic conditions in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, a sign of the recent efforts of these

last year, to \$10.4 billion. Trade officials said they believed the deficit with China would continue rising this year, to become the second highest after that with Japan.

Last year, the deficits of \$41 billion with Japan and \$11 billion with Taiwan were the main components of the overall \$101 billion trade gap between United States and the rest of the world.

The reason for fewer citations against Japan was the conclusion in the last year of agreements covering supercomputers, satellites, wood products, sound recordings and metal alloys for electrical distribution transformers.

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Japanese Beef Producers Prepare for Competition

By Paul Blustein
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — As Japan eliminates its beef-import quotas Monday, U.S. and Australian beef producers are gearing for a new assault on one of the most lucrative markets in the world.

But in a twist that offers some insights into the modern economy, Japanese beef producers say they are confident that they will not be driven out of business by cheap imports.

Supermarket chains are holding big promotions for imported beef, and the U.S. industry is hoping to doubling its current annual sales of about \$1 billion in the next two years. Japanese beef producers bitterly fought market liberalization when the United States and Japan agreed to it three years ago.

Actually, the trade in beef won't be free — just less restricted. Stiff tariffs will be imposed on imported beef for three years, starting at 70 percent this year and declining thereafter. Moreover, Japan's labyrinthine system of wholesalers and retailers seems

bound to keep prices relatively high.

But the Japanese producers have other reasons for optimism, notably the preference that Japan's increasingly prosperous consumers show for the buttery flavor of wagyu beef — known to Americans as Kobe beef — produced from fat, pampered steers of the wagyu breed. Comparing a steak from a wagyu steer with a typical prime steak from overseas "is like comparing a kilogram of gold with a kilogram of lead," boasted Koichi Nagata, a breeder from Mie Prefecture.

What is happening in the beef business is emblematic of the opening that the Japanese market has undergone in recent years. Japan has scrapped, or is in the process of scrapping, many formal trade barriers — quotas, burdensome regulations, tariffs and the like — although the rice market remains a notable exception. The completely closed nature of the rice market recently gained notoriety when Japanese authorities threatened to arrest some

See BEEF, Page 9

Postwar Kuwait: High-Tech Aims For New Society

By Leigh Bruce
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — A rebuilt Kuwait could emerge as a showcase of futuristic Western technology and management systems, in some cases surpassing in efficiency and effectiveness what has thus far been achieved in advanced Western countries themselves, according to executives and analysts.

With the chance to redesign their economy from scratch, the Kuwaitis are likely to go for a streamlined, ultra-high tech society, supported by the very latest in computer, telecommunications and automation systems, the analysts said.

This means that they are likely to offer more lucrative contracts to Western high-technology suppliers, and fewer to traditional construction companies — at least outside the oil business — than most people initially expected.

There are not many countries that get an opportunity to have a fundamental rethink of what they want to do and how they want to do it," said Dennis Cumming, director

of the Committee for Middle East Trade of the British Overseas Trade Board.

"These are the people whose resistance fighters used portable fax machines and satellite phone links to communicate with the outside world," said Bruce Beringer, head of Middle East operations at the executive search firm Russell Reynolds Associates Inc.

"That's the level they're used to," Mr. Beringer said. "There's every sign they will want to go even further in rebuilding their country." The Kuwaitis, he added, are now eager "to get to tomorrow's technology today."

Besides the well-known Kuwaiti insistence on top-of-the-line products, the main factors driving the demand for ultra-sophisticated equipment, analysts and businessmen say, are the widespread destruction or theft of existing gear by the Iraqis, Kuwait's apparent determination to cut the local population by half and the inadequate practical skills of an otherwise highly educated Kuwaiti population.

IBM, Motorola, Raytheon, Thomson CSF of France, CSC Inform of Britain and other high-technology companies have already received contracts under the 90-day emergency reconstruction plan. But the big long-term contracts have yet to be handed out in all but the oil sector, which is being coordinated by the U.S. engineering giant Bechtel.

"Frankly, the task is so enormous and they have so many options that the top people haven't yet decided exactly what they are going to do," said Kevin Burke, an attorney with a leading Kuwaiti firm, Hamed Youssef Al Essa, who for the last 12 years has represented many major Western companies there.

But the executives and analysts said the expected high-tech boom is likely to be particularly powerful because it will be starting from scratch. The Iraqi occupiers carried away or ruined virtually all of the country's advanced equipment.

By contrast, in most countries

See KUWAIT, Page 9

Dollar's Rise Takes a Toll On U.S. Investors Abroad

By Jonathan Fuerbringer
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The dollar has been tough on American investors this year. And with little warning, the U.S. investors realized that the dollar's rise, which began in the Gulf crisis, was not over yet.

Particularly sharp attention was drawn to China, where the U.S. trade deficit almost doubled

last year, to \$10.4 billion. Trade officials said they believed the deficit with China would continue rising this year, to become the second highest after that with Japan.

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See BARRIERS, Page 9

MGM-Pathe Creditors Press for Bankruptcy

Reuters

LOS ANGELES — Six creditors of MGM-Pathe Communications Co., the film studio owned by the Italian financier Giancarlo Parretti, have filed a suit against the company seeking to force it into involuntary bankruptcy.

The creditors filed suit against MGM-Pathe in U.S. Bankruptcy Court in Los Angeles, a spokesman for MGM-Pathe said Saturday.

"The petition was unwarranted and will be vigorously resisted," he said. MGM-Pathe has not yet seen a copy of the lawsuit, he added.

The Los Angeles Times reported that the suit listed six creditors with claims totaling about \$10 million.

But the MGM-Pathe spokesman said the creditors listed include a

disputed claim: a claim by Concord New Horizons Corp., a privately held film production company, that it is owed \$6.1 million for films made for MGM-Pathe's predecessor company.

Involuntary bankruptcy petitions may be filed only by undisputed claimants.

Since Mr. Parretti last November acquired MGM/UA Communications Co. and merged it with Pathe, the company's financial health has been questioned.

"MGM-Pathe has been paying its creditors and is in the process of obtaining additional financing that will substantially strengthen its financial position," the spokesman said.

CURRENCY RATES

Cross Rates	March 29/28
Australian	1.2500 1.2475 1.2500 1.2475
Brussels	35.775 35.725 35.725 35.775
Frankfurt	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727
London (to)	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727
Madrid	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727
Paris	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727
Porto	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727
Stockholm	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727
Switzerland	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727
Tokyo	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727
Yokohama	1.727 1.727 1.727 1.727

Other Dollar Values	March 28
Currency	Par 5
British pound	1.727
French franc	6.55
German mark	1.727
Italian lire	1.727
Japanese yen	1.727
Spanish peseta	1.727
Swiss franc	1.727
U.S. dollar	1.727
West German mark	1.727
Yen	1.727

Forward Rates	March 28
Currency	30-day
British pound	1.727
French franc	6.55
German mark	1.727
Italian lire	1.727
Japanese yen	1.727
Spanish peseta	1.727
Swiss franc	1.727
U.S. dollar	1.727
West German mark	1.727
Yen	1.727

Last Week's Markets

Stock Indexes	Mar. 29	Mar. 28	Change
DJ Index	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
NYSE Comp	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
AMEX Index	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
NYSE Comp	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
AMEX Index	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
NYSE Comp	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
AMEX Index	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
NYSE Comp	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
AMEX Index	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92
NYSE Comp	2913.86	2913.86	+1.92

Another Miracle? Macy's Fights Odds

By Stuart Silverstein
Los Angeles Times Service

Edward S. Finkelstein, Macy's chairman and chief executive since 1980, is trying to perform another miracle on 34th Street.

Mr. Finkelstein, who previously engineered a stunning turnaround at R.H. Macy & Co.'s once-dragging store on 34th Street in New York, has himself to blame for the company's current bind.

Macy's is loaded with debt from a Finkelstein-led buyout that took the company private in 1986 and from the acquisition of the California-based Bullock's and I. Magnin chains in 1988.

Even so, Mr. Finkelstein, at age 66, has remained one of retailing's most admired — and intimidating — executives. And by drawing heavily on his reputation and the force of his own mercurial personality, Mr. Finkelstein and other Macy's executives so far have held together a delicate coalition of the company's key suppliers, lenders and investors.

As a result, while other debt-heavy retailers have fallen into bankruptcy, Macy's is fighting cleverly to stay afloat.

Many analysts say that a major setback or a recession that lasts into 1992 would still sink the company and in coming years it will need to raise more capital. But since last fall, Macy's has carried out a series of crisis-management maneuvers that appear to have taken it out of immediate danger.

"Anything could happen at any time, but step by step, brick by brick, he is building strength back into Macy's," said Bud Konheim, president of Nicole Miller Ltd., a Macy's supplier of dresses and ties.

That does not make Mr. Finkelstein — who declined to be interviewed for this article — the best-loved person in retailing. Detractors acknowledge that he is gifted when it comes to anticipating consumer tastes and extremely

loyal to his cadre of longtime aides, but they also describe him as thin-skinned and hot-headed.

"You're pretty much on Ed's team or not on Ed's team," a former associate said.

Apparel industry sources say that a few years ago Mr. Finkelstein cut off a major supplier to Macy's stores, Bernard Chaus Inc., after a personal dispute with the chairman of the women's clothing company. Two years ago, he started his industry by abruptly quitting as chairman of its leading trade group, then known as the National Retail Merchants Association, one day before he was to be master of ceremonies at the association's annual awards luncheon.

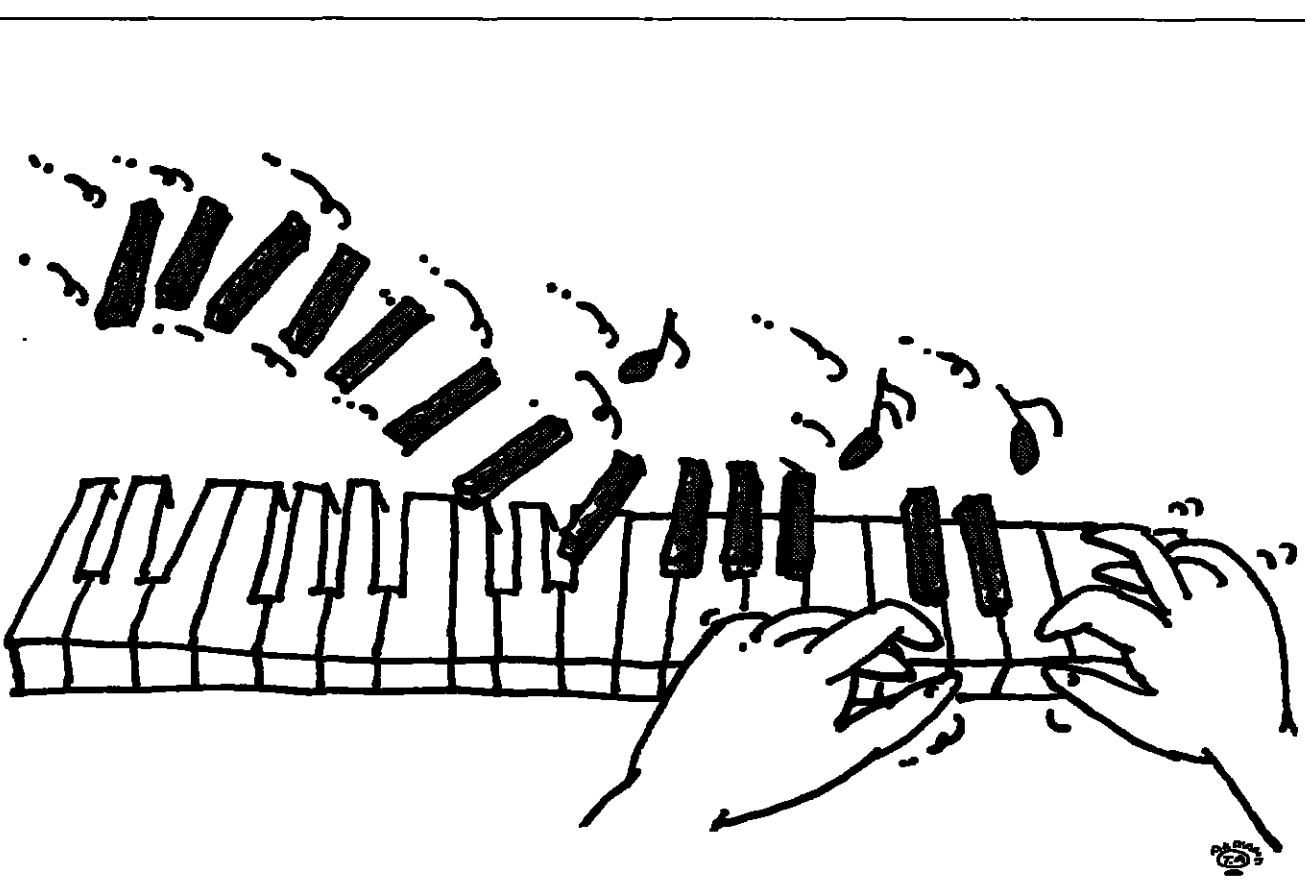
Probably the sharpest criticism of Mr. Finkelstein, though, was over his decision to lead an investment group including 348 Macy's executives in a \$3.7 billion leveraged buyout. He described it as a move to hold on to key managers and give them a financial incentive to focus on Macy's long-term health.

But the buyout also was widely regarded as an effort by Mr. Finkelstein and his backers to make a fortune in a few years' time. A former Macy's executive who asked not to be identified said Mr. Finkelstein, who invested \$4.4 million of his own money in the buyout, told him that he expected to make 30 times that much.

What Mr. Finkelstein failed to anticipate was the broad downturn in retailing that began in the late 1980s. His foray into the takeover game also backfired. He was outbid by Campeau Corp. for Federated Department Stores, but arranged to buy Federated's Bullock's and I. Magnin divisions to expand its presence in the West.

But that saddled Macy's with an antipathy in debt and, in I. Magnin, gave the company a falter-

See MACY, Page 9



We arrange only those mergers that we know will result in long-term business harmony.

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New International Bond Issues

Compiled by Laurence Desvignes.

Issuer	Amount (millions)	Mat.	Coups	Price	Price end week	Terms
Fixed-Coupons						
Council of Europe	\$200	1993	7%	100.925	100.35	Noncallable, Fees 1.5% (Bankers Trust Int'l)
Du Pont (E.I.) de Nemours	\$250	1996	8 1/4	101.225	100.55	Noncallable, Fees 0.20% (Swiss Bank Corp.)
Deutsche Ausgleichsbank	DM 100	2001	9%	100%	—	Interest will be 9% in first four years and 1% thereafter. Noncallable, Fees 0.20% (Frankfurt & Birk)
Kyushu Leasing Service	DM 50	1998	9	101 1/2	—	Noncallable private placement. Fees 1.5% (Mitsui Bussan)
BP Development of Australia	£100	2001	11 1/4	100.25	—	Noncallable, Fees 1.40% (Goldman Sachs Int'l)
KFV Int'l Finance (Delaware)	€ 150,000	1995	12%	101.50	100.35	Noncallable, Fees 1.4% (Mitsui Bussan)
European Investment Bank	€ 20,000	2001	12 1/4	101.10	100.20	Callable at 101.25 in 1995. Fees 1.2% (Banco)
Ontario Hydro	CA 3,990	—	zero	—	—	Deal comprises 39 tranches of C\$81 million each, plus one last tranche of C\$81 million, with maturities of one to 40 years, prices of 91.12 to 2.03 and yields of 9.4% to 9.99%. Proceeds to be used for financing of Ontario Hydro's power projects. (Merrill Lynch Int'l, Nomura Securities, ScotiaMcLeod, Nisbit Thomson and RBC Dominion)
Ford Credit Australia	Aus\$ 50	1995	12 1/4	101.65	99.50	Noncallable, Fees 1.5% (Westpac Banking)
Oric Ireland Finance	€ 20,000	1995	7.40	101 1/2	—	Interest will be 7.40% in first three years and 1% thereafter. Redeemable at par in 1994. Fees 1.5%. Duration: 10 million years. (Dawson Europe)
Equity-Linked						
Malaysia	\$190.75	2001	6	100	100.13	Noncallable, Convertible into Syntex Telekom Malaysia stock at 10% rights per share, a 10.53% premium, and of 2.74% rights per share. Fees 2.5% (Morgan Stanley Int'l)
Matsuyama	\$ 60	1995	4%	100	105.75	Noncallable. Each \$5,000 note with one warrant exercisable into company's shares at \$20.00 per share and of 2.74% rights per share. Fees 2.5% (Dawson Europe)
Owens-Corning Fiberglas	\$150	2005	8	100	101.50	Noncallable. Callable at 105.40 in 1994. Convertible at 25% per share, a 25.5% premium. Fees 2.5%. \$30 million issued internationally and remainder in the U.S. (Goldman Sachs)
Parco	\$100	1995	4	100	104.25	Noncallable. Each \$5,000 note with one warrant exercisable into company's shares at \$20.00 per share and of 138.25 yen per share. Fees 2.5% (Dawson Europe)
Tjwi Kimia	\$ 75	2001	7 1/4	100	—	Callable at par from 1994. Convertible at 9.100 rupiah per share and of 1.932 rupiah per dollar. Fees 2.5% (Nomura Int'l)
Metalgesellschaft Finance	DM 200	2001	8 1/2	134 1/2	133.50	Noncallable. Each 5,000-mark note with warrants exercisable until 1995 into a total of 20 of company's shares at 520 marks each, a 7.2% premium. Fees 2.5% (Deutsche Bank)
Rohm	DM 150	1995	4%	100	108.00	Noncallable. Each 5,000-mark note with five warrants exercisable into company's shares at 2,819 yen per share and of 84.17 yen per mark. Fees 2.5% (Nomura Bank Deutschland)

Individuals Are Big U.S. Debt Buyers

By Kenneth N. Gilpin

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Individual American investors bought a record \$120.5 billion worth of Treasury securities last year, according to data from the Federal Reserve Board.

The purchases by individuals came to nearly 45 percent of the more than \$272 billion in securities issued in 1990 to finance the budget deficit.

That is an eye-opening number, said William M. Raschfeld, executive vice president at Daiwa Securities America. "But in the aggregate, individuals are more intelligent making investment decisions than the professionals who manage money. And there were lots of good reasons to be in high-quality securities last year."

The Fed's numbers showed that household purchases of Treasury securities were biggest in the first and fourth quarters of the year as

depositors appeared to shift money out of savings accounts and other bank instruments at times of market concern about the stability of the financial system.

Not coincidentally, fears about

The numbers put to rest the notion that strong demand from foreigners was required to sell Treasury securities.

the savings and loan industry heightened during the first quarter. And in the fourth quarter, concern about the health of some banks added to the nervousness of investors after the Iraqi army invaded Kuwait.

"The first and fourth quarters were periods when the backdrop was unsettled, and concerns about the financial system and its health," said Neal M. Soss, chief economist at First Boston Corp.

For a year at least, the Fed's numbers put to rest the notion that strong demand from foreigners was required to sell Treasury securities.

Attracted by higher interest rates elsewhere, foreign purchases of

Treasury issues were essentially flat last year, compared with the levels for 1989, at around \$30 billion. That level is down sharply from 1988, when foreigners bought \$62 billion.

The Fed's numbers for household purchases are estimates, and include purchases made by personal trust accounts and nonprofit organizations. They do not include purchases of Treasury securities made by mutual funds or money

market funds, often owned by individuals.

Because the increase in household purchases rose so much — to \$120.5 billion, from \$48.5 billion in 1989 — some private analysts assumed that the Fed had piled securities into that category because it had no idea where else to put them. Fed officials, who asked not to be identified, conceded that was the case.

But the officials said that because they collected hard data on purchases by other major groups — banks, savings and loan associations, mutual funds and money market funds — and knew how many securities were issued, it became a simple matter of subtraction.

"If market interest rates appear high compared to bank rates," said Mr. Soss of First Boston, "you will take money out of the bank and put it into bills or notes."

The issue was targeted to Swiss retail investors who are looking to replace maturing U.S. corporate debt with similar paper.

Overall, with the Easter holidays coinciding with the end of the quarter, activity was relatively light.

However, analysts do not anticipate heavy activity in the second quarter. John Lipsey at Salomon Brothers and Jonathan Hoffman at Credit Suisse First Boston concern in the view that bond markets will be trading water in coming weeks and confined to narrow trading ranges.

In addition, Mr. Lipsey expects issuing activity to be muted. "Demand from borrowers is not likely to be overwhelming, even with the prospect of a recovery in the United States," he says.

Mr. Hoffman notes that "the big move in interest rates has already occurred," with yields on Eon and French franc 10-year bonds down about three quarters of a percentage point since the start of the year and sterling and mark rates down about a half point.

He sees investors taking profits on bond holdings and starting to move into equities with the focus on U.S., British, Australian and Spanish stocks.

MACY: Retailer Bucks the Odds

(Continued from first finance page) ing chain that it apparently has been unable to turn around.

By last year, Macy's situation looked bleak. Its losses more than tripled to \$215.3 million on sales of \$7.3 billion in the year that ended in July, and analysts speculated that a bad Christmas season would put the company in bankruptcy.

Making matters worse for Macy's was a bad case of the jitters among apparel companies and other retail suppliers and lenders. After Campeau's department store empire sought bankruptcy court protection in January 1990, those suppliers and lenders were anxious about who would be next to go broke owing them money.

In May, many grew fearful that Macy's was a likely candidate, and the flow of credit to the company was halted. Macy's won the suppliers and their lenders back, and avoided disaster, by assuring them that it would do a better job of

keeping them updated on the company's finances.

Meanwhile, Mr. Finkelstein countered the speculation that a bad Christmas would break the company by giving assurances that Macy's would cut costs, mainly by holding down inventories.

As it turned out, Macy's sales fell 9.4 percent during the three-month period ended Feb. 2, but because of inventory controls, its net loss before a one-time accounting adjustment narrowed to \$7.3 million from \$39 million a year earlier.

Taking into account the accounting adjustment — an \$85.3 million gain from buying back junk bonds — Macy's showed earnings of \$78 million for the quarter, its first quarterly profit in two years.

All told, Macy's efforts have restored a measure of faith in the company. "They're doing all the things they've said they would do," said Richard Posner, executive vice president of Credit Exchange Inc.

Shock Treatment in Romania

Changes Include End to Food Subsidies and Devaluation

Reuters

BUCHAREST — Romanians, accustomed for decades to cheap food subsidized by the state, face a big shock on Monday, when prices will soar after subsidies are ended and the official value of the local currency is almost halved.

The government adopted these painful measures as part of its drive to build a market economy after four decades of communist-style central planning, which was ended by the December 1989 revolution.

The price liberalization will end subsidies on food staples such as bread, milk, eggs and meat, and on essential services.

The end to the subsidies was among the policies agreed to with the International Monetary Fund in exchange for a \$1 billion financial aid package. The IMF aid package is expected to be approved on Friday.

Prime Minister Petre Roman's government has imposed ceilings of about double current prices to limit the shock to the nation, whose average wages are worth only \$25 a month in real terms. But many

shops appear ready to try to break those limits.

The price of an egg is due to rise to 4 lei (11 cents at the official exchange rate) from 1.8 lei. Bread prices quoted over the weekend were up 150 percent.

The National Bank said the official value of the lei would be almost halved on Monday by a devaluation, from 35 per dollar to 60 per dollar. The devaluation will make imports and foreign travel more expensive for the 23 million Romanians.

The devaluation is a step toward convertibility of the lei, to be reached through a combination of

devaluations and the gradual creation of a free foreign-exchange system that will supplant the rampant black market in foreign currency.

The price reform is intended to increase competition on the home market and ease the chronic shortages of essentials that have made life a misery and long lines and rationing the norm.

The government is handing out cash bonuses to the population to cushion the immediate impact of higher prices. But trade unions and other critics have protested that these protective measures are inadequate.

The three leading opposition parties in parliament issued a statement saying that the price reform was faulty because, as long as most industry is still in state hands, price liberalization will amount merely to an across-the-board price rise. They urged a postponement until privatization of industry is well under way.

A privatization bill will go before the Grand National Assembly, the parliament, in the next two weeks.

The policies are in exchange for a \$1 billion aid package from the International Monetary Fund.

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The devaluation is a step toward convertibility of the lei, to be reached through a combination of

Cuba Seeking Foreign Investment

United Press International

MEXICO CITY — Cuba may, in certain cases, allow more than 49 percent foreign investment in state-owned companies, a top Cuban economist has announced.

A 1982 law allowing foreign investors to own 49 percent of Cuban companies "will be applied with great flexibility and on a case-by-case basis," Luis Cardet Heando, president of the Association of Cuban Economists, told the official Cuban news agency Prensa Latina.

The dispatch was monitored in Mexico City.

Companies with foreign ownership are called "mixed companies" by the Cuban government, which owns all Cuban industry.

Mr. Cardet said direct foreign investment would mean the "elimination of economic dependence on one market," a reference to the Cuban economy's heavy dependence on aid from the Soviet Union.

Cuba, under a U.S. trade embargo since 1960, sells its sugar to the Soviet Union above market prices. The Soviet Union also subsidizes the Cuban economy by selling it oil

below market prices so Cuba can sell it at a profit on world markets.

But political change and economic problems in the Soviet Union caused a cutback in aid and subsidies to Cuba of nearly \$5 billion a year.

Cuba, the world's largest sugar producer, also wants foreign investment in the sugar industry, Mr. Cardet said. The country is seeking investment in machinery used to produce sugar products, in sugar by-products such as molasses and in biotechnology and computers, he said.

KUALA LUMPUR — Malaysian Airline System, recently criticized for poor management, has named a new chief executive and reshuffled its top executives in a major revamp of the airline.

Kamaruddin Ahmad, MAS's senior director of operations, will replace Abdul Aziz Rahman as the new chief executive, effective Monday, Mr. Aziz, who held the post for almost 10 years, will be on leave until his retirement in October, the company chairman, Raja Mohar Badoezian, said in a statement.

MAS also reshuffled several top executives in an effort to make the airline a more customer-oriented organization, the chairman said.

Last month, the Malaysian cabinet ordered the carrier to revamp its structure and to consider splitting its domestic and international services. MAS, listed on the stock exchange in December 1985, has been criticized in the past year for flight delays, poor service and overbooking.

BEEF: Japan's Import Quotas Fall

(Continued from first finance page)

U.S. rice promoters at a Tokyo food fair for exhibiting a few bags of American rice.

The result is that imports have risen by about 75 percent in volume since 1983, with some particularly dramatic gains in products like telecommunications equipment, medical equipment and pharmaceuticals, which were the subject of lengthy market-opening efforts by Washington.

The negotiation of the 1988 agreement liberalizing Japan's beef as well as citrus fruit markets came only after protracted negotiations, which became so politically charged that one Japanese rancher handed himself. It was the third in a series of beef accords dating from 1978.

At the time of the 1988 agreement, despair reigned throughout much of the beef industry. One agricultural trade magazine predicted that prices would plunge and called liberalization a "death

blow" to Japanese beef production. But domestic producers suffered no such drastic impact; demand for imported beef has grown substantially more slowly than the 60,000 ton per year increase in the quota since 1988. Part of the reason for this is that retail prices have remained a relatively firm, apparently a reflection of the lack of competition in the retail industry.

Meanwhile, Japanese ranchers have been preparing for stiffer import competition by improving the quality of their herds. Holstein cattle, which constitute about 60 percent of Japan's herds, are being cross-bred with wagyu to produce a fatter, more tender beef.

At the same time, a number of Japanese beef companies and retailers have bought ranches and feedlots in the United States and Australia. Among them is Zenichiro Co., Japan's biggest beef-trading company, which bought a Montana spread in 1988. So Japanese companies are poised to benefit if imports do take off.

WALL STREET REVIEW

Figures as of close of trading Friday, March 29.

NYSE Most Active					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
IBM	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
AT&T	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
GE	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
IBM	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
AT&T	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
GE	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	

AMEX Most Active					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
IBM	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
AT&T	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
GE	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
IBM	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
AT&T	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	
GE	125 1/2	125 1/4	125 1/2	+ 1/4	

NYSE Sales					
Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week
1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
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1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000

AMEX Sales					
Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week
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1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
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NYSE Divides					
Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week
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AMEX Divides					
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NYSE Divides					
Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week
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AMEX Divides					
Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week	Total for week
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1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
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OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday, March 29.

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(Continued on next page)

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MONDAY SPORTS

Leonard Admits Relying on Cocaine and Liquor for 3 Years

By William Gildea
and Bill Brubaker

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Sugar Ray Leonard, the former professional welterweight and middleweight champion, has admitted he used cocaine and drank alcohol heavily from 1983 to 1986, following surgery for a detached retina that threatened to end his boxing career.

He said that his behavior wrecked his marriage and that he stopped using drugs because he wanted to be a better father to his two sons.

During a news conference Saturday, the 34-year-old Leonard described a harrowing personal life. He was responding to a Los Angeles Times article that reported charges by his former wife, Juanita Leonard, during divorce proceedings last summer that Leonard had used cocaine.

"It was approximately three years of my life and I'm not proud of it," Leonard said. "In 1982 I was on the operating table [for a detached retina], which said that I can't fight anymore. I could have walked away. I guess, if I was an adult, I had the money. I had everything. But I wanted more. I wanted that arena."

Leonard, who retired from boxing Feb. 9 after a lopsided

loss to Terry Norris, said he began using cocaine and abusing alcohol as a result of "dark moments" after his eye operation.

"I wasn't mature enough to deal with the fact that, hey, maybe I can do something else," he said. "As opposed to being an adult, I decided to search for a substitute. I've always been one who has been rather stubborn and did things the way I wanted to do them. So I resorted to drugs and alcohol. So occasionally I did cocaine."

Leonard, who in his career reportedly grossed more than \$90 million, said he was not treated for drug use, did not consider himself to have been an addict or an alcoholic and stopped cocaine use on his own because he realized the effect it was having on him and his family.

He characterized himself as "not a heavy user" but living "a crazy life-style," and said he became drug-free in "early 1986," when it was becoming apparent that he could revive his ring career with a fight he had long sought, against Marvelous Marvin Hagler. Leonard defeated Hagler to win the World Boxing Council middleweight championship.

Drugs and alcohol made his life "okay for a while," he said. But his life "didn't get better. I would look at myself sometimes in the morning and didn't like what I'd see. I'm

not trying to justify what I did. It was wrong. It was childish. It was stupid. I'll be the first to admit that."

He said he never used cocaine alone, but declined to say where he obtained the drug and who shared it with him. Last October, it was reported that Juanita Leonard had charged him with adultery and physical abuse, according to court files of the couple's divorce proceeding in Montgomery County Circuit Court in Rockville, Maryland. Shortly after, the files were sealed. The Los Angeles Times, stating it reviewed court records, said that Juanita Leonard charged that Leonard had used cocaine.

Juanita Leonard and her lawyer, Marvin Mitchellson, could not be reached for comment Saturday.

Leonard appeared in 1989 in nationally televised announcements against the use of drugs. He said Saturday that he was not using drugs at that time and that he declined "anonymous offers" to do similar anti-drug messages during the period he was using drugs.

At the news conference, he portrayed his wife as suffering greatly from his behavior and said he appreciated "how she tried to pull me back. But, dammit, I wasn't ready to be pulled back because nobody tells me what to do. So I stand here ashamed, hurt."

"All I can say is I'm sorry, but that's not enough."

Los Angeles Times Service

Partial excerpts from Maryland court records:

Question: Did you ever strike your wife at any time during the marriage with any part of your body? I don't mean your fists necessarily: a shove or a grab or pushing?

Leonard: Yes.

Q: Did you ever hit her on the head, strike her where the ring on your finger caused a cut?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you ever strike her after you had been drinking?

A: Yes. Those were the only times.

Q: Would you admit you came home sometimes after you had done some drugs?

A: Yes.



Larry Maritz/The Washington Post

Leonard said he drank and used cocaine because he was depressed by being unable to fight.

Watson Gets Touch Back With Putter

By Jaime Diaz

New York Times Service

POINTE VEDRA, Florida — With the same zeal that he used to conquer golf a decade ago, Tom Watson has been doggedly working to overcome a shaky putting stroke and restore his presence at the top of the game.

The latest payoff for his efforts occurred at the Players Championship, where the 41-year-old Watson had a round of putting on Saturday that ranks with the best of his 21-year career.

He posted a 7-under-par 65 at the Tournament Players Club Stadium course, moving among the leaders going into the final round.

Watson took only 24 putts for the round. At one point, he had nine successive one-putt greens, rolling the ball in from lengths ranging from 3 feet (just under 1 meter) to 25 feet.

His only misstep was a three-putt from 35 feet on the 15th hole, where he missed a 3-foot par putt. He ended his round by holing a sharply breaking 35-footer for a birdie on the difficult par-4 18th.

"Today I made everything I looked at," said Watson, who before the round looked at his statistics and found that he was 165th on the PGA Tour in putting. "I got even with the putter today. I hope I get even again tomorrow."

When will he consider himself back to a standard approaching his great years?

"When I win a tournament," Watson said. "Maybe this week, or maybe in two weeks in Augusta."

Exile for the 'Golden Kid': Goodbye to Maradona, Good Luck and Good Riddance

By George Vecsey

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — It was only a year ago that one of the world's leading soccer officials spoke these prophetic words about Diego Armando Maradona:

"I am afraid he will wind up like Joe Louis," the man said, referring to the way the great heavyweight champion had finished his days as a greeter in a Las Vegas hotel, broken by financial and emotional troubles.

Boxing and soccer are similar in that they offer a quick way out of poverty, but without the chance of some random education and the peripheral contacts that American team sports offer.

Almost all U.S. team athletes pass through high school, probably a junior college, often a four-year university, where they may even attend classes. The richest and most arrogant American team athletes know there is another world outside their arena. Diego Armando was a world unto himself.

DIEGO Armando Maradona went directly from a hard barrio at the edge of Buenos Aires to a soccer club. His education ended when he was around 12. In the professional soccer system, young players are like novices in feudal fights. They hang around, perform menial chores, learn their craft.

But Diego Armando had such rare powers in his feet (and, when necessary, in his hands) that he bypassed the servitude stage. He became a child star, responsible to nobody.

The 30-year-old "golden kid" tested positive for cocaine the other day and is facing a two-year ban from his club in Naples, his national team in Argentina, and all over the world.

The potential exile will be the start of Diego Armando's freefall, but he has been slipping out of control for months, for years. It wasn't just the way he acted like a crude rustic when he played in urbane Barcelona, or his gaudy midseason wedding (his two children were his flower girls), at which he punched out a photographer, or the paternity suit, or the inattention to work, which is often a screaming sign of addiction troubles.

Soccer is a game of style. A player can be a genius or a buffoon in a scoreless tie, and everybody knows it.

Like boxing champions, Maradona has his redemptive and his retainers. If they said no, they were history.

While Argentina was training for its World Cup defense in Italy last summer at a secluded camp in the countryside, he would pop into Rome after midnight. Suddenly, the patois would be asked to eat fast, and the doors were closed to keep other night people from entering.

When all was secure, Diego Armando would enter from a side door, take a corner table and order his midnight feast.

Unfortunately for Diego Armando, he then had to go out and play. He was coming off a championship season for Napoli, but doctors, trainers and dietitians could not hold him together.

In the 1980s, Diego Armando had been the greatest team athlete in the world, an artist as well as a raging bull with massive thighs that could propel a soccer ball in vicious spinning tangles.

Now he was surrounded by defenders who kicked and jabbed at him, and all he had left was histrionics. Cynically, he began taking dives on the lush green fields of Italy. He tumbled and rolled and clutched at his ankles and his knees and his thighs, a great soccer player reduced to a bad actor.

One night while his goalie was out of position, he stepped in front of the goal and swatted a ball away. The whole world saw it, except for the referee, and the whole world was reminded of his infamous "hand of God" goal in the 1986 World Cup, when he rose into the air and punched a goal home against England.

This time Maradona had his street excuses ready. He didn't do it, he said. But if he did do it, he added, it was an accident.

SINCE then, it has been downhill to disgrace. He has scored only four goals this season for Napoli, all on penalty kicks. He has tried to break his contract, which extends through 1993. He has ducked games and missed practices, with hints of legal troubles following him. The official Vatican newspaper used him as the example of the excesses of professional sport.

Last year, with the grandiosity of a born con man, Maradona spoke of going to the United States for the 1994 World Cup, not as a player perhaps, but as a spokesman for soccer, a model for youth. He would not like to be a coach, he added with a smirk, because he would have to handle a player as crazy as himself.

The way it looks right now, the place to look for Diego Armando Maradona will probably be the street. A greeter in a hotel? If he's lucky.

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Atlantic Division			
Boston	31	10	.756
Philadelphia	29	12	.705
New York	28	13	.683
Washington	24	17	.588
New Jersey	23	18	.562
Miami	22	19	.537
Central Division			
Chicago	31	10	.756
Indiana	29	12	.705
Atlanta	28	13	.683
Charlotte	24	17	.588
Cleveland	23	18	.562

WESTERN CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Utah	31	10	.756
Portland	29	12	.705
Los Angeles	28	13	.683
San Antonio	24	17	.588
Dallas	23	18	.562
Phoenix	22	19	.537

PACIFIC DIVISION			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Portland	31	10	.756
Los Angeles	29	12	.705
San Antonio	28	13	.683
Dallas	24	17	.588
Phoenix	23	18	.562
Seattle	22	19	.537

NHL Standings			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Quebec	31	10	.756
Montreal	29	12	.705
Calgary	28	13	.683
Edmonton	24	17	.588
Winnipeg	23	18	.562
St. Louis	22	19	.537

CAMPBELL CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Chicago	31	10	.756
Atlanta	29	12	.705
Philadelphia	28	13	.683
Washington	24	17	.588
New Jersey	23	18	.562
Miami	22	19	.537

NBA Standings			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Utah	31	10	.756
Portland	29	12	.705
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San Antonio	24	17	.588
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Portland	31	10	.756
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Montreal	29	12	.705
Calgary	28	13	.683
Edmonton	24	17	.588
Winnipeg	23	18	.562
St. Louis	22	19	.537

CRICKET			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Quebec	31	10	.756
Montreal	29	12	.705
Calgary	28	13	.683
Edmonton	24	17	.588
Winnipeg	23	18	.562
St. Louis	22	19	.537

HOCKEY			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Quebec	31	10	.756
Montreal	29	12	.705
Calgary	28	13	.683
Edmonton	24	17	.588
Winnipeg	23	18	.562
St. Louis	22	19	.537

NHL Standings			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Quebec	31	10	.756
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Calgary	28	13	.683
Edmonton	24	17	.588
Winnipeg	23	18	.562
St. Louis	22	19	.537

WALLES CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Chicago	31	10	.756
Atlanta	29	12	.705
Philadelphia	28	13	.683
Washington	24	17	.588
New Jersey	23	18	.562
Miami	22	19	.537

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Portland	29	12	.705
Los Angeles	28	13	.683
San Antonio	24	17	.588
Dallas	23	18	.562
Phoenix	22	19	.537

PACIFIC DIVISION			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Portland	31	10	.756
Los Angeles	29	12	.705
San Antonio	28	13	.683
Dallas	24	17	.588
Phoenix	23	18	.562
Seattle	22	19	.537

HOCKEY			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Edmonton	31	10	.756
Calgary	29	12	.705
Los Angeles	28	13	.683
San Jose	27	14	.659
Phoenix	26	15	.634
San Jose	25	16	.609
Los Angeles	24	17	.584
San Jose	23	18	.559
Phoenix	22	19	.534
San Jose	21	20	.509
Phoenix	20	21	.484
San Jose	19	22	.459
Phoenix	18	23	.434
San Jose	17	24	.409
Phoenix	16	25	.384
San Jose	15	26	.359
Phoenix	14	27	.334
San Jose	13	28	.309
Phoenix	12	29	.284
San Jose	11	30	.259
Phoenix	10	31	.234
San Jose	9	32	.209
Phoenix	8	33	.184
San Jose	7	34	.159
Phoenix	6	35	.134
San Jose	5	36	.109
Phoenix	4	37	.084
San Jose	3	38	.059
Phoenix	2	39	.034
San Jose	1	40	.009



Among the people in Proust's circle portrayed in the exhibition are Lucie Delarue-Mardrus (left), Dr. Samuel Pozzi and Louisa de Mornand.

A Photo Remembrance of Things Proust

PARIS — The last photograph of Marcel Proust was taken on his deathbed by Man Ray in 1922. The first was made by an unknown photographer. His life is well documented in studio portraits and in casual snapshots, having happily coincided with the first popular surge of the new art. The directors of the Hôtel de Sully in the Marais have had the attractive idea of

MARY BLUME

documenting Proust's world in an exhibition called "Le Monde de Proust."

The photographs are the work of Paul Nadar (1856-1939), son of the great pioneer Félix Nadar. They show Proust and his family, the friends who became characters in his works, their costume parties, their horses being curried and their marble bathrooms and gothic-style fireplaces.

Because the small exhibition is limited to the work of one photographer, some of the people important to Proust are missing, such as Marie Nordlinger, who helped with his Russian translation and was one of his models for Albertine, and Céleste Albaret, Proust's faithful servant for his last 10

years. There is, however, the coarse and cunning face of his servant Nicolas Cottin whose widow claimed that his lungs had been ruined in the stifling air of Proust's apartment and whose early death from pleurisy perhaps prevented him from cashing in on his master's later fame. "His sentences are as annoying as he is," Cottin had said, "but mark my words, when he's dead he'll be famous."

There is also a portrait, with his father and brother, of the velvet-eyed Alfred Agostinelli, Proust's beloved chauffeur who drove him through Normandy — "His black rubber cape and the hooded helmet which enclosed the fullness of his young, beardless face made him resemble a pilgrim or, rather, a nun of speed," Proust wrote — and who died in an air accident in 1914, having enrolled in his flying course under the name Marcel Swann.

Alfred was one of Proust's sources for Albertine — George D. Painter lists a total of 10 — who also included the actress Louisa de Mornand, with whom Proust made what Painter calls silent immobile love: "I feel happier," the writer said, "than a child that has just been given its first doll."

Proust loved photographs and seems to

have enjoyed having his picture taken. He kept albums, reminisced over them with friends and, again according to Painter, took portraits of grand ladies to his favorite male brothel where they were, on his instructions, revived by beery young tarts.

There were many grand ladies, among them the Comtesse Henri Greffulhe, who served as a model for both the Princesse and the Duchesse de Guermantes, and another model for the duchess, the bearded Comtesse Adélaïde de Chevreign, of whom the loyal Céleste said, "That lady who has made Monsieur de Swann up a voice like a railway train when it goes into a tunnel."

Some of the portraits are of people peripheral to Proust's work but entertaining on their own: General Gaston de Galliffet, friend of the model for Swann, Charles Haas, Lucie Delarue-Mardrus, the sapphic poet whose husband was Dr. J. Christ Mardrus, translator of "The Arabian Nights," and the elegant Mrs. Theodora Stanish, a friend of Edward VII who modeled her clothes on Queen Alexandra's and whose wardrobe contributed to Proust's description of the Duchesse de Guermantes.

There are photographs of the women

who helped Proust compose such characters as Madame Verdurin and Odette, and Dr. Samuel Pozzi, one of eight models for Dr. Cottard, a worldly philanthropist who rescued Proust from military service and was murdered by a crazed patient in 1918.

There is one of the loves of the young Proust, Marie Benardaky, a model for Gilberte, and her mother who chose, curiously, to pose for Nadar in a Walkyrie costume designed for her by Worth. Another Gilberte was Jeanne Pouquet whose photograph Proust, like his Narrator, tried unsuccessfully to obtain: "To get one I humbled myself before Swann's friends and even before photographers, which did not get for me what I wanted but which tied me forever to some very boring people."

The photographs in the exhibition are entertaining and telling but are only clues to Proust's compositions. There is a limit to what they can say, as a wise fortune teller observed to Proust after a quick glance at his face and hands: "What do you expect from me, Monsieur? It is for you to reveal my own character to me."

"Le Monde de Proust," Hôtel de Sully, 62 rue Saint-Antoine, until May 13.

LANGUAGE

Contrariwise, It's 'on the Contrary'

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — "Regrettably," said the president, using a sentence adverb that causes stock-market speculators to hit the sell button. "The noon deadline passed." George Bush then laid the rhetorical and legal foundation for the allies' ground attack on Iraq forces: "To the contrary, what we have seen is a redoubling of Saddam Hussein's efforts to destroy completely Kuwait and its people."

Though most of the world applauded the president's decision, not everyone accepted his language. "Instead of tying himself in knots to avoid a split infinitive," writes Louis Jay Herman, master sergeant of the Gotscha Gang, "the president should have done a little more work on his contrary phrases."

Rarely does anyone object to a speaker's avoidance of the split infinitive. In this case, however, to completely destroy would have been more natural — and carried greater impact — than Bush's ultracorrect "to destroy completely," or the alternative completely to destroy.

But what of the contrary? The Gotscha Gangster is unrelenting: "The use of the contrary to negate or mark a contrast with a previous idea is becoming fairly frequent, but it's plain wrong. The correct phrase for introducing a sentence in this manner has always been on the contrary, whereas the contrary is used as a grammatical complement to a noun."

Not always. Among the prepositions that once led into contrary, the Oxford English Dictionary cites by, to, for, and in; in the 16th century, you could start a sentence with "to the contrary" and nobody would write in. But in the last few centuries, a clean difference has developed between the contrary and to the contrary.

Contrary — from the Latin *contrarius*, "opposite, hostile" — has most recently been in the news as *contra*, the name for Nicaragua's rebels. *Contrary* is an absolute (an adjective used as a noun) not subject to nuances or shades or sneaky qualifiers; it is as absolute as *free* and *brave* in "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

We're talking about the noun that means "a position or thing that is diametrically opposite; the reverse." Set aside, then, this argument, the adjective, meaning "disagreeable, perverse, contrary," as in the nursery rhyme "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary." The adjective's emphasis is on the second syllable anyway, in contradistinction to the noun form's accent on the first syllable.

The phrase *to the contrary* usually modifies or objects to a specific noun just mentioned; on the contrary usually marks a contrast with a whole argument or position that precedes it. To the point: only the objectionable word; the *on* signals a complete refutation of the earlier argument.

For example, "This Constitution . . . shall be the supreme law of the land," wrote our Founders. " . . . anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." To the contrary refers to the aforementioned thing. In a similar way, Ralph Waldo Emerson, writing about curious traits of the English, reported in 1856: "The favorite phrase of their law is 'a custom whereof the memory of man runneth not back to the contrary.'" The specific word being countered contrarily (the "noun being complemented," in Herman's phrase) is *custom*.

On the other hand (I have already used in *contradistinction*, and I am running low on synonymous phrases), Shakespeare popularized the phrase as a pointer to a general refutation that followed. "The Duke came to the bar," said a character in "Henry VIII," with "many sharp reasons to defeat the law. The King's attorney, on the contrary, urged on the examinations, proofs, confessions of divers witnesses."

Let's follow the Bard on this: Use *to the contrary* about a noun, *on the contrary* about an assertion or argument. To put both in a single sentence, "On the contrary, evidence to the contrary proves all the foregoing to be balderdash."

Contrariwise (coined in 1340 and still my favorite), what about the French *au contraire*? Doesn't that mean, literally, "to the contrary," and don't the French start sentences with it all the time, objecting to entire demarches? There's *no sur le contraire* in French; doesn't that suggest we should start our sentences with *to the contrary*, as Bush likes to do?

No. Our popular president happens to have a tin ear. The American idiom is noted in "Dictionnaire de l'Américain, Paris," by the lexicographer Adrienne Gignac. Dr. Johnson's dictionary signed only by "Sam," to be published in the United States next month by Norton. *Au contraire* is given as the definition of "on the contrary," with a wordy Gallic illustration: "I thought they were happy together, but on the contrary, they're splitting."

Orejas, Spanish for "ears," is the word used by peasants in El Salvador and Guatemala to describe government informers. "Inside Central America," the Guatemalan new Summit book by my New York Times colleague Clifford Krauss, also informs us that roving bands of Sandinistas that broke up opposition demonstrations in Nicaragua were called *urbas divinas*, or "divine mobs."

Why divine? This was a description from the French Revolution of two centuries ago; it was meant to give some spiritual authority to the rule by angry crowds that led to the Reign of Terror. Phrases like *les foules divines* leap languages and centuries to put down new roots in unexpected places.

Same with slang, but dialects produce curious differences in meaning. In the United States, to stretch your legs means "to go for a walk, to get a breath of air"; it is akin to baseball's seventh-inning stretch, a chance for fans to stand up en masse without the guy behind yelling, "Down in front!"

Georgi Arbatov, a Kremlin Americanologist, was telling ABC's David Brinkley and other correspondents about a letter read in the Soviet parliament: "It said that you boys — it means Gorbachev and Yeltsin — better stretch your hands toward each other, or the country will stretch its legs."

To blank looks from the American interviewers, Arbatov explained: "You know, it is an idiomatic expression. To stretch legs, it means 'to be dead.'"

Which figure of speech will triumph in a multipolar world? Will leg-stretching symbolize rejuvenation or the opposite? *Orejas*, keep us informed; there's a divinity in dialect.

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